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THE
RACES OF IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

BY

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"HISTORY OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES," "A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS," "LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON FRASER, LORD LOVAT," ETC.

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PREFACE.

THERE are few subjects of ethnological inquiry surrounded by greater obscurity than the origin of the different races inhabiting Ireland and Scotland. A sharp conflict of theory, and a remarkable lack of definiteness, are the main characteristics of the discussion that centres around the subject. Any fresh views, therefore, that rest upon the foundation of scientifically ascertained facts, must be regarded as valuable aids in the solution of an admittedly difficult problem.

It was with these considerations before me that I commenced, some years ago, to study the race problem of the two countries—for they are inseparable—and embarked upon a course of independent research. There was room for the pursuit of original work. The confusion in which the subject is involved was rendered not less, but more, perplexing by a succession of treatises upon parallel lines, and all leading to no certain conclusions.

In the solution of the race-problem, there is no evidence, in my opinion, equal in weight to the proofs supplied by the early forms of ancient place-names. I rest my case largely upon etymologies. They supply the most tangible evidence that it is possible to produce. Place-names cannot lie. Provided the right key can be found to unlock the treasures, they yield the pure gold of truth. But with a false key one can only fumble; one cannot open.

The application of place-names to the solution of Irish and, particularly, Scottish racial questions has been rendered largely nugatory by the method employed. Etymologists have approached the subject with their minds made up.

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"Here," they have said, "all the names must be Gaelic; yonder they must be Cymric; in this district only Anglo-Saxon roots can be looked for; in that, only Scandinavian." That being their attitude of mind, they have constructed Procrustean beds in which the names have been made to fit preconceived notions. I could give many instances of this method of treating both Irish and Scottish etymologies, and it may be confidently asserted of the result that it has hitherto proved a hindrance rather than a help to the study of ethnology.

I do not say that my etymologies are infallibly correct; far from it. But I do say that the names have been studied on their merits, and that my derivations are based alike upon commonsense and the facts of topography.

The main theories advanced in this book are entirely new, and, if I may use the word without fear of being misunderstood, entirely "revolutionary." I am not so sanguine as to suppose that they will meet with complete acceptance, nor so confident as to believe that they are impervious to criticism. But I have made no important assertions without supplementing them by reasoned proofs that have satisfied me, whether or not they seem equally conclusive to others. The tests that I have applied are severe.

I have dealt at some length with the legends pertaining to the race-origins, particularly in Ireland, and have endeavoured to reconstruct from them a theory of the prehistoric races, concerning whom expert opinion has not yet settled the elementary question whether they were men or myths. I have tried as far as possible to separate myth from tradition; to penetrate the meaning of the former, and to gauge the historic values of the latter. Necessarily, this section of the subject is largely speculative, but when the speculations are in agreement with the ascertained facts of anthropology and archæology, they are entitled to rank as working hypotheses until they are superseded by more exact knowledge.

Finally, the subject of this book bristles with controversial points, and covers ground that, for its adequate exploration,

would fill a number of volumes. I have ventured to touch a good many of these points in passing, without lingering to discuss them fully, which would have been impossible.

It will be seen that the scope of the work, embracing, as it does, mythology and folk-lore, history and tradition, etymology and anthropology, is varied and exacting. I have tried to make myself as clear as possible in expressing my views, even at the risk of being charged with redundancy, and I cherish the hope that whatever the faults of the work, obscurity of meaning is not one of them.

If my treatment of the subject has the result of directing research into new channels for discovering the beginnings of two great and intimately associated peoples, I shall feel that my labour has not been in vain.

W. C. MACKENZIE.

RICHMOND-ON-THAMES.

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CORRECTIONS.

Page 22 (15th line from top): *for* "distingushing" *read* "distinguishing."

„ 59 (4th line from bottom): *for* "F. H." *read* "J. H." Dixon.

„ 90 (1st line of note): *for* "Miss" *read* "Mrs." Bryant.

„ 123 (18th line from top): *for* "Flaherty" *read* "O'Flaherty."

„ 131 (2nd line from bottom): *for* "Ibernian" *read* "Iberian."

„ 247 (1st line of note): *for* "MacFirbig" *read* "MacFirbis."

„ 288 (14th line from top): *for* "*Léths*" *read* "*Leths.*"

„ 332-3: The etymology of the place-name "Stornoway" in Lewis, and Loch "Stornoway" in Argyllshire suggested in the text, is allowable only on the assumption that there has been a change of form by metathesis, an unsatisfactory solution of a topographical problem. I have now discovered in the *Landnama Book* an ancient place-name which seems to supply the root that had previously eluded my search. It is the name *Stiornu-steinom*, which is translated "Anchor Rock." The pronunciation of the word "Stornoway" by the Gaelic-speakers of Lewis strongly suggests that in this place-name an original Norse *Stiornu* has been preserved. By this reading "Stornoway" would mean "Anchor Bay," a name that might very well have been given to the safe natural harbour of Stornoway by the earliest Norse settlers in Lewis. (There is an "Anchor Head" between two bays in the Bristol Channel at Weston-super-Mare.)

„ 346 (12th line from bottom): *for* "to" *read* "of."

„ „ (2nd line from bottom): *for* "mystical" *read* "mythical."

„ 360 (2nd line from bottom): *for* "makes" *read* "make."

THE RACES OF IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

The legends of Ireland and their interpretation—The Book of the Invasions—Cesair—Partholan—The Nemidians—The Fomorians—Were the Fomorians Phœnicians?—Cormac's Glossary—A discussion of Beltine—The idol Crom Cruaich—The serpent-mound near Oban—The Irish "dragons"—St. Patrick as a serpent-destroyer—Pestilence symbolised by a serpent—The significance of cromlechs.

The race problems of Ireland and Scotland are so closely intertwined as to be inseparable. For it will be shown in the following pages that the people known as the Scots, who gave their name to Scotland, passed over to that country from ancient Scotia, the modern Ireland. The traditions and legends of these Irish settlers in ancient Alban (part of the modern Scotland) became the common inheritance of both countries, and form the connecting link in the chain that stretches forward to authentic Irish and Scottish history, and backward to traditions concerning the shadowy races who preceded the Gael in the occupation of Ireland.

These races have provided Irish writers, more particularly, with plenty of scope for the exercise of ingenious guessing. The obscurity of the subject has stimulated rather than repelled persistent research. Yet it must be admitted that the result has been to envelope these prehistoric peoples in a more impenetrable mystery than ever. The prevailing

tendency of the present day is to dehumanise them; to treat them as myths; to read symbolic meanings into the records of them handed down by tradition; or to regard them in part or in whole, not as races of real men and women who occupied Ireland before the Celts, but as a pantheon of Celtic gods and goddesses.

This tendency is so contrary to the interpretations of mediæval transcribers and commentators, that it can only be regarded as an alternative solution of the problem that has baffled investigation, or as an easy method of evading an admitted difficulty. In either case, it is not a convincing attitude. Any one endowed with a glimmer of imagination can construct a pantheon to suit his own fancy. It is not so easy to offer a sane ethnic theory that shall satisfy the requirements of modern science. It seems probable that the mediævalists have rationalised too much, and modern critics too little.

What do the Irish traditions tell us about the ethnology of the country? These traditions, it is well to remember, must have been in their original form rhymed stories handed down orally by the shanachies, or professional historians, from generation to generation, from century to century, until they were clothed by monastic scribes in prose, after the art of writing in Roman characters had been acquired. Transcribed and redacted time and again by monks with views of their own, they appeared finally in the dress in which we see them to-day, a dress the fabric of which was woven mainly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The nearer the source the purer the stream; and the same law applies to tradition. If the varnish which overlies these stories could be cleaned off, we should see the picture clearly and in its proper perspective. The deliberate emendations and the unintentional errors in which, necessarily, the traditions abound would then be obliterated, and there would be less reason perhaps for rioting in symbolism. It is the

accretion of legendary matter around the genuine traditions of the country that has concealed a good deal of the historical value, which, beyond doubt, the traditions intrinsically possess.

The Book of Leinster, a compilation of the twelfth century, contains, in common with later compilations, a record of the successive colonies that occupied ancient Ireland. The "Book of the Invasions," as this record is usually called, discriminates between the races who settled in the country and those who visited it for spoil. An account of each invasion or settlement is given with the tribal name, or the eponym, of the settlers. The etymology of these tribal names, or eponyms, has baffled philologists, and has thus added to the confusion of ideas in which the whole subject is immersed. Neither Irish nor Scottish Gaelic provides an adequate key. But Cymric is of some help, and for reasons which will presently appear, Cymric is the language above all others that unlocks the door of obsolete Irish words and shows their original meaning.

The first eponym that meets us is that of "Cesair," "a grand-daughter of Noah," who, with her company, arrived in Ireland—very conveniently before the Flood. It is useless to speculate on the racial problem presented by this eponym, and even Irish antiquaries who accept the later Invasions as historical, dismiss Cesair as a myth. The word, or a similar one, is, however, used in Welsh bardic literature, where it denotes "lordship." Thus Cesair may well stand as the eponym of the earliest tribes who had dominion over Ireland.

Equally nebulous are the second people who occupied Erin under the leadership of "Partholan." This eponym seems to mean land-sharers (Cymric *Parthu*, to divide). According to Keating, the first division of Ireland (he gives seven in all) was by Partholan, originally a Scythian, who came from Greece. He is said to have divided the country into

four parts. The tradition tells us that Partholan and the whole of his followers, numbering 9,000 people, were carried off by a plague; yet the descendants of some survivors appear in later traditions.

The third Invasion places us on slightly firmer ground. This occupation was by "the sons of Nemed," and the eponym seems to point to a race regarded, for some specific reason, perhaps for the superiority of its magic, as sacred. The Nemidians, who were the progenitors of the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danann (two peoples whom we shall presently meet), were brought under subjection by the Fomorians, who first appear in the time of Partholan. With the Fomorians we can commence to investigate the ethnic problem of Ireland seriously.

It is difficult to imagine a race of beings with aspirations more mundane, and activities more human, than those of the Fomorians. Yet the mythologists are agreed in regarding them either as giants or as mermen. Both assumptions have a philological basis; but they cannot both be right. It is quite certain that a Fomorian cannot be at one and the same time a "giant" and a "being from under the sea."

The Irish traditions describe these Fomorians without a trace of uncertainty. They were African pirates; they were Shemites who wished to separate themselves from the race of Ham; pre-eminently, they were oppressors of the men of Erin. There is nothing here that consists with the idea either of giants or mermen. Etymologically, the name "Fomorians" may be held to support the plain statements of the traditions, for it seems to mean "sea-refugees" (Cymric *Ffo*, flight or retreat, and *Môr*, the sea). That the word essentially means "pirates" would appear to be borne out by the fact that, at a later period, by a people described as "Fomorians," the Scandinavian sea-rovers are plainly indicated.

If we go a step further, and ask to what nation these

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and they used to bring the cattle (as a safeguard) against the diseases of each year to those fires." A marginal note adds:—"They used to drive the cattle between them."[1]

A little further on, Cormac gives the meaning of *Bil* as *Bial*, i.e., "an idol god," thus showing that in the first quotation he did not, as some suppose, intend to equate *bil* with "lucky," or if he did, that "lucky" was a secondary meaning. There can be little doubt that Cormac's *Bial* stands for Baal or Bel.[2]

A close study of fire-customs in ancient Ireland and in modern Scotland reveals the fact that they were of two kinds, one involving the idea of sacrifice, and the other that of purification or protection. One was propitiatory and the other was preventive. The clearest account of the sacrificial class that I have seen is contained in Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, copied from the Statistical Account of the parish of Callander in Perthshire. The quotation is as follows:—

> "The people of this district have two customs, which are fast wearing out, not only here, but all over the Highlands, and therefore ought to be taken notice of, while they remain. Upon the first day of May, which is called *Beltan*, or *Baltein day*, all the boys in a township or hamlet meet in the moors. They cut a table in the green sod, of a round figure, by casting a trench in the ground, of such circumference as to hold the whole company. They kindle a fire, and dress a repast of eggs and milk in the consistence of a custard. They knead a cake of oatmeal, which is toasted at the embers against a stone. After the custard is eaten up, they

[1] Cormac's *Glossary* (Stokes), p. 19.

[2] Keating says:—"It is from that fire made in honour of Bel that the 1st of May is called Biltaini or Bealtaine; for Beltainni is the same as *Beil-teine*, i.e., *teine Bheil* or Bel's fire.

divide the cake into so many portions, as similar as possible to one another in size and shape, as there are persons in the company. They daub one of these portions all over with charcoal, until it be perfectly black. They put all the bits of cake into a bonnet. Every one, blindfold, draws out a portion. He who holds the bonnet is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit is the devoted person who is to be sacrificed to *Baal*, whose favour they mean to implore, in rendering the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast. There is little doubt of these inhuman sacrifices having been once offered in this country, as well as in the east, although they now pass from the act of sacrificing, and only compel the *devoted* person to leap three times through the flames, with which the ceremonies of this festival are closed."

There is no trace here of the element of purification, but there is a distinct suggestion of a survival of the element of sacrifice; and the worthy clergyman's surmise that the practice originated in offerings to Baal may quite conceivably be correct.

On the other hand, the quotation from Cormac shows that Beltine in Ireland, a thousand years ago, was mainly an observance having as its object the curing of cattle-disease and the protection of the cattle from the ills of the coming year. It is not quite clear whether Cormac's fire was ignited in the ordinary way, or whether it was *tein eigin*, or forced fire, commonly called need or neid-fire (A.S. *gnidan*, to rub; Dan. *gnide*).

In his chapters on "Fire Customs," [3] Frazer shows the origin and widely-spread character of the need-fire, the various methods throughout the world of making these fires,

[3] *The Golden Bough*, ii., pp. 195-265.

and the significance attached to the practice. A peculiar virtue belonged to this fire owing to its purity; it was a "living fire." In historical Rome the duty of making the sacred fire pertained to the vestal virgins and the chief Pontiff. Need-fires and perpetual-fires have a history that is full of interest. We find the "perpetual" method in Ireland as exemplified by the fire of St. Brigid (Bridget) at Kildare, which was plainly a survival of a heathen custom adapted to Christian practice.[4] Martin in his *Western Islands* gives an account of the need-fires of the Hebrides late in the seventeenth century;[5] and the late Dr. Carmichael describes the custom in the same islands as practised about 1829;[6] he states that in Reay (Sutherland) the need-fire was made as recently as 1830. In some cases, the people as well as the cattle, rushed between the fires to be purified.

The fire-cult is usually described as an Aryan custom, but its Aryan origin is doubtful. It is intimately associated, as Dr. Peisker shows, with the Shamanism of the Ural-Altaic peoples. Describing the beliefs of the wild tribes east of the Caucasian Range, he writes: "Fire purifies everything, wards off evil, and makes every enchantment ineffective. Hence the sick man, and the strange arrival, and everything which he brings with him, *must pass between two fires*"[7] (the italics are mine). Here we have a root-idea substantially the same as that embodied in Cormac's description of Beltane in the ninth century, and no less the same as that which induced the Hebridean crofters and the Sutherland and Perthshire farmers in the nineteenth century to drive their cattle through the forced fires, to cure them of murrain, and protect them against the power

[4] In the Scandinavian temples there was a hallowed fire "which must never go out" (Eyrbyggia Saga).

[5] *Description of the Western Islands, circa* 1695, p. 113 (1884).

[6] *Carmina Gadelica*, ii., p. 340.

[7] *The Cambridge Medieval History*, i., p. 346.

of enchantment during the coming year. For it is clear from a consideration of the subject of witchcraft and its various forms of expression, that cattle diseases and the spells of wizardry were intimately associated in the minds of those who practised such rites: purification and protection were equally their object.

It is not easy to dissociate these rites from sun-worship as being the primitive impulse from which they were derived. From the sacrifices offered to Bel there was only a further step to the rites of purification which, as we have seen, are the common possession of Aryan and non-Aryan peoples, though it appears more probable that the Aryans derived the cult from the Turanians rather than the contrary process. It would seem likely, therefore, that the two ideas, sacrificial and purificative, gradually coalesced, thus explaining the application of the name Beltine to a rite that was mainly designed for a purifying purpose. Although the survival of Baal or Bel worship in these islands is at the present day generally scouted as an exploded notion, it is difficult to evade the force of the reasoning that detects traces of that cult in such customs as that described (for example) by the minister of Callander. And it is fair to ask for an alternative and satisfying etymology of the root "Bel" in Beltine, if its identification with the Phœnician sun-god is rejected. The same root is found in the "Bell-trees" of ancient Ireland, which were apparently sacred groves.[8] The evidences of sun-worship, more particularly in the Hebrides,[9] where ancient customs, extinct elsewhere, have persisted until modern times, are altogether too strong to be ignored. A single archæological argument from Ire-

[8] It will not do to assert that Beltine is simple "Bale-fire" (A.-S. *Bæl*, a burning), or a warning fire kindled on an eminence, because that derivation entirely fails to explain the rites associated with Beltine. The same objection applies to Cym. *Beili*, an eminence.

[9] See Martin's *Western Islands*.

land may be cited; and it seems conclusive. The solar discs which have been found in that island must necessarily have been associated with the solar cult.

Among the ethnic Irish, a certain god (Crom Cruaich) stands out with peculiar distinctness as pre-eminently the object of special veneration. I suggest that in the several descriptions of this idol which are scattered throughout the most ancient bardic literature, the lineaments are traceable of Baal Melkarth (Moloch) the Tyrian diety that combined the beneficent and maleficent attributes of the Phœnician Sun-god.

It is common ground that the May-day bonfires with their attendant customs, are survivals of pagan rites; and their symbolism, which survived to the nineteenth century, is found as symbolism as early as the ninth. The reality behind that symbolism may be seen probably in the fifth century, when St. Patrick entered upon his crusade against paganism in Ireland. The chief representative of this paganism was the idol named Crom Cruaich, situated in a plain named Magh Slecht. The idol's name has given rise to a good deal of etymological guessing. It means, literally, either "Curved Mound," if *Crom* is an adjective, or "Mound Serpent," if a substantive.

Sir John Rhys, whose opinions are entitled to respect, suggests that the idol Crom Cruaich was in a state of decay at the time of St. Patrick, and had consequently assumed a stooping posture; an explanation which Dr. Douglas Hyde appears to regard as satisfactory. By this reading, *Crom* is interpreted as the "Stooper"; but *Cruaich* is literally translated by Sir John Rhys as "Mound." A "Mound-stooper" is a conception that calls for an effort of the imagination. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville connects *Cruaich* with *cruor*, blood, and translates Crom Cruaich as the "Bloody Crom," an interpretation that leaves things pretty much as they were.

The literal translations given above are easily explicable, if we assume that Crom Cruaich was one of those peculiarly-shaped eminences known as serpent-mounds. The best example of a serpent-mound, in Scotland at any rate, is one near Oban, which was discovered by Mr. Phené in 1871.[10] The serpent-mound of Crom Cruaich, assuming its existence, may have escaped detection to the present day. Irish antiquaries are not agreed whether Crom Cruaich was situated in Leitrim or Cavan. It may not have been in either county, but I am convinced that when it is ultimately identified, it will be found to take the form of a serpent-mound.

The artificial mound near Oban is stone-ridged; it curves like the letter "S"; and it is three hundred feet in length. It faces, looking eastwards, the triple peaks of Ben Cruachan (a name, by the way, that has the same derivation as Cruaich), and abuts on Loch Nell. Its situation is suggestive of sun-worship, but it is here impossible to enlarge upon that suggestion. On the head of the serpent is a circle of stones, corresponding with the solar disc on the heads of the mystic serpents of Phœnicia. In the centre of the circle, Mr. Phené found the remains of an altar which have since disappeared. Also, the circle has been proved to contain a grave, which reveals the double purpose of this dracontine structure.[11]

The *Dinnsenchus*, an Irish topographical tract of uncertain but admittedly ancient date,[12] describes Crom

[10] A description of this mound is given in Miss Gordon Cumming's *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas*, i., pp. 37-9.

[11] The serpent-mound at Oban is not the only one in Scotland. There is one at Glenelg, and another in Lorn (Henderson's *Survivals of Beliefs among the Celts*, p. 169). The author remarks (pp. 167-8) that one finds the serpent associated with a knoll in Scottish myth. The serpents figured on some of the sculptured stones may have a religious significance.

[12] Attributed to the sixth century.

Cruaich (who is called Cenn Cruaich in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*) [13] in the following words: "The king idol of Ireland, namely Crom Cruaich, and around him twelve idols made of stone, but he was of gold. Until Patrick's advent, he was the god of every folk that colonised Ireland. To him they used to offer the firstlings of every house, and the chief scions of every clan."

According to this description, the idol was covered with gold, and was surrounded by twelve lesser deities made of stone. If, now, we replace the idol (which, let it be assumed, was once there) on the altar of the Oban serpent-mound, we have a representation of Crom Cruaich that agrees in every particular with the description in the *Dinnsenchus*, not excepting even the sacrificial feature; for there is a tradition that, in remote ages, the Oban structure was the scene of public executions.

Crom Cruaich was in Magh Slecht, which may mean the "slaying plain." This interpretation appears to be more correct etymologically than the "plain of adoration," which is the usual translation. It connects the plain directly with the sacrificial rites that are mentioned in the Irish texts.

By the Phœnicians, the sacrifice of first-born children was a recognised rite in the exercise of public worship. The offering of first-fruits was a Semitic custom, originally derived, it is believed, from the Akkadians, a Turanian people. It was practised exclusively by Semitic peoples among the Caucasian races. In the sacrifices to Crom Cruaich, we seem to be witnessing the performance of rites appertaining to Baal Melkarth. A description by the late Dean Stanley of an inner temple on the Hill of Samaria, dedicated to Baal, bears some resemblance to the sanctuary

[13] *Cenn* is here to be equated, perhaps, with "King," a meaning which seems to be borne out by the succeeding words quoted from the *Dinnsenchus*. If it means "head" or "chief," it suggests the presence of other and inferior mounds of the same character.

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seems to imply an attack by Patrick on the rites of the ethnic Irish. Curiously enough, Fionn, no less than Patrick, figures as a serpent-destroyer in Irish legend. He is said to have slain "all the savage reptiles of Erin, the two dragons of Loch Inny and the dragon of Loch Cuan, which is Strangford, the piasta of the Shannon, and the great serpent of Ben Edar, which is Howth."[18] These reptiles and dragons may be represented in modern times by the "wurrums" feared by the Irish peasants, which infest lakes and carry off human beings. The origin of this superstition may be traceable to the impression produced in the distant past on the minds of the peasantry, by mounds shaped like serpents on the margin of lakes. The serpents covered with grass, but alive, which figured in North African myths, must assuredly mean dracontine mounds. The great sea-serpent which appears periodically to the eye of faith, may be the marine counterpart of the land dragon, or it may be the land dragon in another element, for the "beast" was apparently amphibious. The maps of early geographers are frequently decorated with fearsome monsters playfully disporting themselves in the sea. These sea-dragons illustrate the beliefs of the time: they are probably identified with such place-names as Great Orme's (Worm's) Head. The dragon-myth on sea and land gripped the imagination of our forefathers, Celts and Teutons alike, as their legends amply testify; and not of those races alone, for in one form or another, the belief is world-wide in extent.

It is noticeable that, in the Irish texts, the word *Crom* is associated with pestilence, e.g., *Crom Chonnaill*, the pestilence that appeared in the form of a beast, and was miraculously killed by Saint MacCreiché; also *Crom* D*ubh* of Connaught, by which is apparently meant the Black Death; it is translated as "the Black Maggot or Serpent."[19]

[18] O'Grady, *History of Ireland*, i., p. 33.
[19] O'Curry, *Lectures*, pp. 631-2.

The sacrifices to Crom Cruaich were made with the object of averting pestilence or famine. The reverence that would be paid to a god capable of causing or averting a plague is easily conceivable.

It has been objected that some of the rites of the Crom Cruaich cult, may have been added to the original tradition by Christian monks who were conversant with the Scriptural accounts of the worship of Moloch. That objection seems to be met by the consistency with which the whole story, as it now appears, hangs together. It cannot well be doubted that we have here a genuinely historical picture of paganism as it existed in Ireland at the coming of St. Patrick, by whose influence the external forms of heathendom were abolished, though, in substance, some of its features were grafted on the Christian faith.

On the archæological side, there is something to be said in support of the Phœnician theory. Cromlechs in Ireland are ascribed by tradition to the Fomorians,[20] whom I am seeking to identify with the Phœnicians. It is not a little remarkable that this class of tombs, from North Africa westwards, should preponderate along the line of the Phœnician colonies and trading centres, though, of course, they are found in other parts of the world.[21]

[20] O'Grady, *History of Ireland*, i., p. 141.

[21] Whether the dolmens came to Ireland with the Phœnicians, or a race akin to the Berbers, it seems to be tolerably certain that their centre of dispersion was North Africa.

One of the meanings of *Cat* is tumulus. (See the analysis of this root in a later chapter.) It is properly applied to dolmens (*cf.* Keith (or Cat) Coity House at Aylesford in Kent), which adds force to the contention that the latter were originally covered by mounds.

Of the cup-markings on cromlechs in Scandinavia, Montelius says (*Woods*, p. 36):—"These were certainly used for offerings either to or for the dead." They are called "elf-mills" (compare the old custom in the North of Scotland of offering oblations of ale and milk to "Brownie" on stones with cup-receptacles for the liquid). Montelius adds: "Even at the present day, they are in many places regarded as holy, and offerings secretly made in them." Are these cup-marked cromlechs the work of

I have thus tried, by evidence which, cumulatively, may carry weight, to show that the Fomorians, a Semitic people who exacted a tribute of first-fruits from the men of Erin, were, in fact, a Phœnician colony, or a body of Phœnician sea-rovers, who imposed alike their rule and their religion upon Ireland.[22] They were followed in their domination of that country by the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danann, whose identification will be attempted in the following chapters.

the colonies of Semitic people who, according to Nilsson, introduced both bronze and Baal-worship to the south and west of Scandinavia?

The name "giants' graves" applied in the south-east of Ireland to cromlechs, finds its counterpart in Denmark, where they are called "giants' chambers." Probably their gigantic properties relate to the massive size of the stones, which were doubtless believed to have been raised by a race of giants. The stone circles in Scandinavia (see Worsaae) are found in conjunction with tombs of the Stone period, mounds of earth being the distinguishing characteristics of the Bronze Age.

[22] The Irish "keeners," who were hired to howl at funerals, perpetuated a heathen custom derived apparently from a Phœnician ancestry (see Stainer and Barrett).

CHAPTER II.

The Firbolgs—The traditional story of their origin—The etymology of the name—A theory to explain the name—The "long-heads" of Ireland—Huxley's pregnant suggestion—The Firbolgs identified by tradition with the "Mediterraneans"—Moytura, the "heap plain"—Giants and gods—The overthrow of the Firbolgs by the Tuatha de Danann.

THAT the Firbolgs were a race of real men and women is common ground alike for Euhemerists and mythologists. But not for all mythologists. One of the most curious theories which have been advanced is that which makes the Firbolgs "men of the bag or womb," i.e., men "born in the ten lunar months of gestation."[1] The association of *bolg* with "bag" lies at the root of nearly all the guesses which have been made to explain who the Firbolgs were, and to give a satisfactory derivation of their name. The prefix *fir* (men) is beyond dispute; the difficulty is with *bolg*, to which various meanings have been attached.

The Irish story about these people, as preserved by Keating (a familiar name in the discussion of Irish history), is obviously a late concoction, being composed mainly of etymological elements, but based perhaps on a slender foundation of genuine tradition. Keating states that there were three correlated peoples—the Firbolgs, the Firdhomhnoins, and the Firgailians[2]—comprehensively the Firbolgic tribes who were oppressed by the "Greeks." These Firbolgs, preferring exile to slavery, emigrated to Erin.

[1] *Primitive Traditional History*, by J. F. Hewitt, vol. i., pp. 32 and 336.

[2] Gailion and Domhnann were names for Leinster (*Silva Gadelica*, Eng. text, p. 500).

They had been forced by their Greek masters to dig up clay, and carry it to barren places to form soil for crops. The Firbolgs carried the clay in bags, hence their name, for *bolg* means a "bag." The Firdhomhnoins did the digging, hence their name, for *dhomhnoin* means "deep." The Firgailians guarded the workers from the attacks of enemies, hence their name, for *gailian* means a "spear."

From the time of Keating to the present day, the Firbolgs have been called "men of the bag," or "bag men," for the same reason as Keating's, namely that *bolg*, among other things, means a "bag." That undisputed fact does not, however, carry us very far; not further, indeed, than the threshold of enquiry. For, if the Gaelic *bolg* (and the Cymric *bolgan*) signifies "bag" or "sack," it means the same thing in Mœso-Gothic, and is found with a cognate signification in all Teutonic languages. It is the source from which are derived a number of English words, e.g., "bag," "big," "bulk," "bulge," "bilge," "billow," "belly," "boll," and perhaps "ball." We find it in place-names, e.g., the "Bogie" (anciently "Bolgie") "River," "Cairnbulg," and "Dunbolg," all in Scotland, and "Moybolgue" (anciently "Maghbolg") in Ireland, with others that could be named. The essential idea at the root of all these words is "swelling," and it will be found that every word derived from *bulg* or *bolg* possesses that characteristic.

Applying this test to "Firbolg," the idea that first suggests itself is that of a nation of "paunch-bellies," an aggregation of individuals distinguished by fatness. That idea, inherently improbable as a national name, receives no countenance of any sort from tradition. Nor are we justified on etymological or other grounds in connecting the name with the Belgae of England; and still less, perhaps, with the Volcae, the Celtic people from whom some philologists derive the name *Walh*, applied by the Teutons to

the Celts, and afterwards to the Romance people of France and Italy. The word Firbolg has its nearest congener among European national names in that of the Bulgars of Bolgary, a race of Ugro-Finnish origin on the Volga, whose ancestors between the fifth and seventh centuries conquered and gave their name to Bulgaria, afterwards adopting the language of the Slavonic people whom they subdued. But it is impossible to establish even a remote connexion between them and the Irish Firbolgs; the former are not found as European settlers until the fifth century.

Orosius mentions a country called by him "Bulgaria," which he places near Istria on the Adriatic,[3] and by the same author a Bulgarian people ("Illyrians whom we call Bulgarians")[4] are placed in Thessaly. It is evident, therefore, that the ancient Illyrian people were called Bulgarians; and these Illyrians are believed to be one of the most ancient of the Mediterranean nations.[5] They may be the "Bulgares" mentioned by Jordanes as a people oppressed by the Goths.

Here, therefore, we may find the link we require between the Firbolgs and the Greeks of the legend who oppressed them. For wars between the Greeks and the Illyrians were frequent; and it is by no means improbable that the latter were enslaved by their formidable neighbours. They were certainly conquered by the Macedonians. Orosius relates that Philip of Macedon slew many thousands of the Bulgarians in Thessaly, and captured Larissa, their largest city. The Illyrians had a good military reputation, and "they of all people could fight the best on horses."[6] They were, therefore, a valuable asset for the Macedonian army.

[3] *King Alfred's Orosius* (Thorpe), p. 257. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 339.

[5] The modern Albanians are thought to be their nearest descendants, and it is a curious fact that the modern Albanians claim a common ancestry with the modern Scots.

[6] *King Alfred's Orosius*, p. 339.

It is not necessary, of course, to treat seriously the fiction related by Keating to account for the name F*irbolg*, for that can be explained on more rational grounds. The root *bolg* enters into combination with *muir* (the sea) in some early place-names to denote an inlet or a "sack" bay like the Frisian *Jâde*.[7] It is found in the name "Muirbolc" (Port na Murloch, Lismore), used by Adamnan with that meaning, and in "Muirbolg" (now Murlough) in Ulster. Thus *bolg* is in these names the equivalent of "lough" or "loch." The idea conveyed seems to be that of the sea "bulging" into the land. So, too, the *Gae-bolg*, wielded by Cuchullin in his famous fight at the Ford, was a spear, which, on entering the body, made only one wound, but afterwards expanded into thirty barbs. And Spring was named *Imbulc*, perhaps because it is the time of the swelling of the buds.

Applying the theory of an inlet, or bay, or loch, to explain the name of the Bulgarians (Illyrians), it is barely conceivable that it may relate to the Adriatic, or, in an extended sense, even to the Mediterranean Sea. But that is a venturesome hypothesis, and it seems far more probable that the Irish Firbolgs derived their name from the fact that their later location was mainly in Connaught. The numerous inlets by which the coast of Connaught is characterised, offer a plausible explanation of the name "Firbolgs," viz.:—"Bay-men," the latter being thus the equivalent of the Scandinavian name, "Vikings."[8] Tradition asserts that Erris in Mayo was the chief landing-place of the Firbolgs, and Mayo is peculiarly indented by bays. Corroboration of the view just stated may be found in one of the Irish

[7] See a discussion on "sack-inlets" in Nansen's *In Northern Mists*, i., p. 93. An exact parallel is found in Mid. High German *Stûch*, which means both a "leather bag" *(bolg)*, and a "gulf" *(bolg)*. Apparently, in both instances, there has been an evolution in meaning.

[8] *Bolg* would seem to convey the idea equally of convexity and concavity (cf. *sinus*, a bay or bosom).

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upon the tall, fair, red-haired, and blue-eyed dolichocephali who are (and appear always to have been) so numerous in Ireland and Scotland, Huxley suggests that "long before the well-known Norse and Danish invasions, a stream of Scandinavians had set in to Scotland and Ireland, and formed a large part of our primitive population."[12] I am convinced that this suggestion explains a good deal in Irish and Scottish ethnology that has presented a baffling problem to students.

The descendants of the "Mediterraneans" abound in the west of Ireland at the present day. They are a dark, long-headed, and rather short people; and their progenitors are believed to be the Firbolgs of Irish tradition. Duald MacFirbis, a celebrated Irish antiquary of the seventeenth century, distingushing between the descendants of the Firbolgs, the Tuatha de Danann, and the Milesian Scots, gives the following characteristics of the first-named:—

> "Everyone who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person; every slave, every mean thief, every churl, every one who loves not to listen to music and entertainment; the disturbers of every council and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among people; these are the descendants of the Firbolgs, of the Gailiuns of Liofarné, and of the Fir Domhnanns in Erinn. But, however, the descendants of the Firbolgs are the most numerous of all these."[13]

MacFirbis states that he took this "from an old book," and gives no further information about his authority. But the unflattering character which he ascribes to the descendants

[12] *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 134.

[13] O'Curry's *Lectures on MS. Materials*, p. 223 (cf. another version, p. 580).

of the Firbolgs fits in with some allusions in the ancient texts to "a base Firbolgic clan, a tribute-paying people, scorn of the warrior-tribes of Erin."[14] On the other hand, the same texts elsewhere describe the Firbolgs as being "mighty of bone and thew," but "not so comely to look upon as the warriors of the race of Milith."[15] And Fardia, the chief of the Firbolgs, who fought with Cuchullin at the Ford, is delineated as a proud, independent warrior, of stately mien and with flowing golden hair.

There is a seeming contradiction here, but unless the text has been redacted, the explanation may be that these big, raw-boned Firbolgs were of another race, superimposed upon the smaller, darker, and less warlike Mediterraneans. They are described as "champions," and among the ancient Irish, as among the ancient Scandinavians, that word implied mercenary professional fighters, who were employed to guard the boundaries of those whose service they entered. These "fighting Firbolgs" may have thus become attached to the Mediterraneans, and in time have become their masters.

Sir W. Wylde speaks of a long-headed, dark people west of the Shannon, and of a more globular-headed, light-haired stock north-east of that river,[16] by which description Huxley assumed that he meant that the latter people have broader heads than the others—"not that there was any really brachycephalic stock in Ireland." This combination of physical characteristics in what is believed to have been a Firbolgic district, offers a curious parallel to the distinction we have been considering, and seems to support the suggestion I have made. It is conceivable that the fair,

[14] O'Grady's *History of Ireland*, i., p. 183.

[15] *Ibid.*, i., p. 212. The Irish bards have given us a curious assortment of racial characteristics, e.g., the creeping Saxon; the fierce Spaniard; the covetous French; the angry Britons; the gluttonous Danes; the high-spirited Cruithne; and the beautiful and amorous Gaedhil (O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 581).

[16] Cited in *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 127.

globular-headed people may represent, with modifications caused by racial admixture, an outlying fraction of the fair, broad-headed people of the Bronze Age, who, according to the school of Thurnam and Huxley, "intruded upon a pre-existing, dolichocephalic, Iberian population in England."

That the Firbolgs belonged to the Stone Age there is some evidence to show. The allusion in the texts to the "sons of Tooran," who slew the father of Lu Lamfada; not with "the bright clear bronze," but with "stones and rugged rocks," seems to denote contact between a stone-using and bronze-using people. The Firbolgs had their centre at Moytura—"the heap plain"[17]—where characteristics of the Stone Age, such as cromlechs, are found. These people, and their kinsfolk in Scotland, are associated with the cyclopean style of architecture expressed in archaic buildings, the later examples of which are commonly known as "bee-hive" houses. Structures with the cyclopean arch are found both above-ground and under-ground, while some are semi-subterranean. There need be little hesitation, I think, in identifying the Firbolgs with the men of the Stone Age, the "old black breed" of Ripley, who are largely represented in the west of Ireland, and the west and extreme north-east of Scotland.

The difficulty of reconciling the various statements in the traditional accounts of the Firbolgs has suggested to Dr. Standish O'Grady that they were "giants," who, in their struggle with the "gods," represented by the Tuatha de Danann, were eventually worsted; and he thinks that the people whom the Gael found in Ireland and placed under tribute were believed to be descended from these giants.

[17] The name Moy or Magh Tura suggests a plain strewn with *tumuli*, similar to plains in Etruria where structures like cromlechs have also been found. The "sons of Tooran" of the Irish texts may be intended for the Tyrhenni, one of the races comprised in the mixed people known as Etruscans.

That is not a satisfying explanation, but if it were correct, it would appear to suggest that the traditions of the struggle for domination between the gods and the giants were of Scandinavian origin, for they are a counterpart of the Eddic stories of the state of perpetual enmity that existed between the *Asar* and the *Jotnar*. The Fomorians, who also figure in these Irish contests for supremacy, might, with greater reason than the Firbolgs, be regarded as "giants," for some isolated traditions concerning them (e.g., the huge form of Balor of the Evil Eye, who led the Fomorians at the battle of Moytura) clearly belong to the gigantic category. But even the Fomorians are, on the whole, so much like ordinary pirates, that it is easier to believe that they were men occasionally magnified by tradition into giants, than giants frequently minified by tradition into men. As for the Firbolgs, I can see nothing in the traditions to justify the belief that, even occasionally, they are represented as giants.

The traditions relating to the overthrow of the Firbolgs by the Tuatha de Dananu are quite definite; and without doing complete violence to the texts, it is not easy to see how a non-human origin can be postulated for either people. The Firbolgs retained the supremacy of Ireland, until they were defeated and dispersed by the Tuatha de Danann in a great battle at Moytura. The reverse they suffered was of so severe a character that they never made another stand against their conquerors. Keating states that those of them who escaped the slaughter at Moytura fled to the Hebrides, where they remained until driven out by the Picts. Other accounts say that they were dispersed throughout Ireland. There is nothing mutually inconsistent in these versions, and both may be correct. There is (or was) a *Dun Fhirbolg*, an ancient stronghold in St. Kilda (of old Hirt) which would seem to corroborate Keating's statement. His account goes on to say that some of the Firbolgs who fled to the Hebrides found their way back to Ireland, where they

were apportioned land, first in Leinster and afterwards in Connaught.

This brings us back to the short, dark, long-headed people of the west of Ireland who are popularly believed to be the descendants of the Firbolgs.[18] And the popular view is probably correct. By whatever name they are called, whether Iberians, Firbolgs, or Mediterraneans, the physical characteristics of these dwellers on the western seaboard are substantially the same as those that belonged to the Firbolgic tribes, who were scattered on the plain of Mayo by a race of superior skill in warfare.

[18] Keating, p. 41 (1723), gives the names of three tribes who, according to the Irish antiquaries, were the lineal descendants of the Firbolgs. They are placed on the east as well as the west coast.

Dr. Beddoe (*The Races of Britain*, p. 267) states that the people about the battlefield of the northern Moytura (between Sligo and Roscommon) were the swarthiest people he had ever seen. They reminded him more of the south Welsh than any other people in Ireland.

It is a curious fact that the *Grecraighe*, the so-called "Greek tribes" (whence possibly the Scots names "Greig," "Gregory," and "Gregor") mentioned by the Annals of Ulster (752), were situated between Sligo and Roscommon. There is room for the conjecture that *Grecraighe* really means "heath" tribes (Cym. *Grug*, heath); perhaps another name for the Cathraige, who were Firbolgs.

CHAPTER III.

The Tuatha de Danann—The country of their origin—An account of their wanderings—The Dagda—Keating on the Dananns—The meaning of the name—The Dananns as magicians—The *Fir-Sidh*—Their Lapponic origin discussed—The Euhemerist theory—The Skrælings of the Norse Sagas—The Pigmies' Isle—The custom of the "knotted cord"—Selling winds in Lewis, the Orkneys, Shetlands, and the Isle of Man—Comparetti on Shamanism.

THE "general reader," who has probably never heard either of the Firbolgs or the Tuatha de Dananu, may be surprised to learn that the latter, whether human or non-human beings, have formed the centre of an animated discussion between rival schools of theorists. According to the Irish texts, the Dananns (as we may abbreviate the name) were the people who conquered the Firbolgs, and became in turn the dominant power in Ireland. What the name means; whether the beings to whom it was applied were men or myths; and if myths, how the myths are to be interpreted; these are all questions to which a final answer has not yet been given.

The texts represent the Dananns as an immortal race, but endowed with singularly human aspirations. The traditions suggest that they were racially related to the Firbolgs, both peoples being Nemidians.[1] The Dananns, after various wanderings,[2] are found in Scandinavia. The

[1] There is a bardic tendency to link together racially the different sets of invaders, the object apparently being to make the Gaelic language appear as old as possible.

[2] Contact with Greece in some form was considered necessary to round off the adventures of these wandering tribes before their arrival in Ireland. The Greek Danaoi may have suggested to medieval redactors a connexion between the Dananns and Greece. Witikind, a monk of the tenth century, states that the Saxons held that they were derived from the Greeks. Keating says that "some held that the Scots were of Grecian origin."

"Danes" gave them four "cities," namely, Falias, Finnias, Gorias, and Murias.

From Scandinavia they emigrated to the North of Scotland, bringing with them the renowned *Lia Fail*, or Stone of Destiny from Falias; a magic sword from Gorias; a magic spear from Finnias; and a magic cauldron (the cauldron of the Dagda) from Murias. They remained for seven years in the north of Scotland, whence they migrated to Ireland. There they found the Firbolgs, who spoke the same, or a similar language.[3] At first the Firbolgs hesitated whether to divide the country with the newcomers or to try conclusions with them in the field. Ultimately, with formalities which are models of chivalry, they decided to put the domination of Ireland to the arbitrament of the sword. The rivals met at Moytura, where a great battle was fought, resulting, as we have already seen, in the total defeat and dispersion of the Firbolgs, and the acquisition of Erin by the Dananns. The texts allude to two battles of Moytura (South and North), in one of which Fomorians from the Western Islands of Scotland participated. But it is thought by some commentators that there was really only one battle, of which there are two separate accounts.[4]

Such, in brief form, is the story the Irish traditions have to tell about the Dananu invasion. So far, there is no suggestion of the supernatural in the description. But the magic sword and spear brought from Scandinavia, and especially, the magic cauldron, prepare us for miracles. These, in fact, are performed at the battle of Moytura without stint. The Dananns' wounded were plunged in a magic cauldron, in which wonderful herbs were brewed, and lo! the maimed warriors were instantly cured and made fit to fight with renewed vigour. And the Dananns had their

[3] This is evidently a bardic interpolation.

[4] See O'Curry's *Lectures on MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, pp. 245-9, for an account of these events.

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idea is expanded by his further statement that the Norwegians "thought them gods and not of mortal race." In a strikingly curious way, the same opinion is expressed about the Lapps by a distinguished Norwegian writer of the present day. "The Lapps," says Professor Nansen, "were regarded by the Norwegians as being semi-supernatural, on account of their skill in *gand* (magic)."

The name Tuatha de Danann, if correctly interpreted, should afford some clue to the identification of these men (if they were men), or the meaning of the myth, if they belong to mythology, as most commentators of the present day assert that they do. *Tuatha* admittedly means "people": it is a form of the familiar *Deutsch* which is based upon the pre-Teutonic *Teutâ* found in many West Aryan languages. As a secondary meaning, it is sometimes applied, with rather doubtful warrant, to tribal lands, but beyond question, its original meaning was simply "people." *De* is usually believed to mean "gods" (Irish *dee*), and that supposition has suggested the mystic character of the Dananns. It is possible, however, that Dedannan is the Cymric *Diddan,* "alluring," compounded of the prefix *Dy* and *Dân,* a lure or charm. The Welsh word *swyn* also means a charm or spell, and is applied to a fairy in the compound word *swyn-wraig*. *Dân* and *swyn* are therefore equations. *Tuatha Dedannan* or *Diddanan* would thus mean the "charm" or "spell" people, the wizards,[7] who were afterwards known as fairies. This interpretation is in accord with all that is known about the Dananns. They were pre-eminent in magic. They were "men of science," were of the earth or sky." He is in complete doubt whether they were "diabolical demons" or "a race of tribes and nations." Writers of the twentieth century share his doubt. It may be observed that in Scottish Gaelic, *Dana* is a name for "the Evil One."

[7] In the *Zendaresta*, the wizard Yatus are called "the sons of Danu." Between them and the Irish Dananns there is some resemblance, in respect both of attributes and name.

say some Irish texts, "who were as gods," which is a variant of Keating's statement.[8] No other race in Ireland before or after their time could compare with the Dananns as *magi* or druids, which was the generic name applied by the Celts to describe the workers of miracles. The Dananns had no monopoly of magic, but theirs was incomparably the most powerful. They taught the Gael, we are told, "noble arts." When the race that succeeded the Dananns in the domination of Ireland attempted to oppose their feeble magic to the irresistible spells of the arch-necromancers, they found it unavailing. But ultimately the Dananns were worsted (we are not told by what means) by the fresh colony of invaders. The texts represent them as being driven to the hills and knolls of Ireland, where they disappeared from human ken. They gave a pledge to the invading settlers not to damage (by their spells) the corn and milk of their supplanters,[9] the assumption being that in return for this pledge, they were not to be molested in their hilly abodes.[10]

No longer after their defeat do we meet the Dananns as humans. From the time of their dispossession to the present day they appear in another form. They are the *Fir-Sídh* (*Sídh* men), the "immortal Shees," as they are sometimes called, and their women are the *Bansídhe* (banshees), in other words, the female fairies. The word *Sídh* is frequently applied to the dwellings of the fairies, as well as to the

[8] If the prefix *Dé* really means gods, it may be compared with Odin's *diar* or *godi* (priests). Keating states that one of the tribes of Dananns were called "Dee" (gods), because they were "Druids or priests." If they were "Druids," they must have been magicians. An Irish text of the tenth century clearly makes *Dé* the equivalent of "gods." Whatever the value of the prefix, the root *Dân* remains unaffected. To connect *Dan* with "Danes" (O. Ic. *Danir*, gen. *Dana*; Ir. *Danar*) or "Danish" would be venturesome.

[9] Rhys, *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1910), p. 36.

[10] The Book of Leinster shows how the spells of the Dananns were feared. But these stories about their ability to damage the corn and milk of the Gael are evidently "fairy-tales" in a colloquial sense.

fairies themselves. A burial-mound, e.g., the great Hill of Howth near Dublin, was a *Sídh*,[11] and any eminence inhabited by fairies came to be known by the same name. Similarly, the fairy mounds in the Highlands of Scotland were the residences of the *Fir-Sith*, the so-called men of peace, or the good little people, the Robin Goodfellows of Scotland.

What is the primary meaning of this word *Síd, sídh*, or *sith* applied to fairies and their dwellings in Ireland and Scotland? If any explanation of the word, showing its original significance, has ever been given, it has eluded my search. I find, however, that the Lapps gave the name of *Sitte* or *Seida* to their domestic spirits (what we should call their "good fairies"), represented by idols made of rough, black stones. I find, also, that the word *Sieid* in the Lapp language means a sacred place set apart for the worship of idols, or for sacrifice, or for consulting oracles. It is probably the same word as *Seida*, which was thus applied alike to the spirits and their abodes. In Icelandic, *Seidr* means "sorcery," a word borrowed possibly from the Lapps (or Finns, as the Scandinavians have always called them).[12]

A consideration of all these facts at once suggests the question whether the *Sídh* folk of Ireland and the *Seid* folk of Lapland have anything in common beyond the resemblance of the name. It might be plausibly argued that by the name Dananu (the people who were afterwards called the *Sídh* folk or fairies) the Irish traditions point to a dimly-remembered settlement in Erin of Lapps who were renowned for their wizardry; that these Lapps were driven from their possessions by a later colony of another

[11] Borlase (*Dolmens*, p. 761) says that among the ancient Scandinavians the belief existed that their relatives died into the hill near which they lived.

[12] The Sitones of Tacitus, not improbably, were Finns, their name being derived from the same root as *seida*. Much translates Sitones as "sorcerers."

race; that the Lapponic remnant constructed, and took refuge in, underground chambers, which were the prototypes of the burial-mounds, if not the actual mounds themselves; that they were feared by their conquerors for their supposed gifts of sorcery and their power of inflicting injury by means of spells; that when the race finally died out, or became merged in the other races of Ireland, their spirits were believed to survive in hills, and knolls, and mounds; and that, finally, the traditions which had been handed down from generation to generation about the doings of these weird sorcerers, who lurked underground, became intertwined with the fairylore of modern times. It should be pointed out that this theory is not identical with what is known as the Euhemerist theory of the origin of the fairy myth. In these matters it is dangerous to generalise; and it should not be forgotten that what may seem a plausible working hypothesis to account for fairy origins in one direction, may be a totally inadequate explanation in another. It is a fact that the Irish and Scottish peasantry believe that they actually see the fairies; but that is a matter which concerns the student of psychology. All that I wish to emphasise is, that no attempt is here being made to explain the origin of fairies generally.

Between the fairies of Ireland and Scotland, and the elves of the Scandinavians, there are so many points of contact that the resemblances cannot reasonably be regarded as coincidences and nothing more. To elaborate the striking similarity between the elf-beliefs of Scandinavia and the fairy-beliefs of the Gael is beyond the scope of my purpose. But it is not difficult to show that the realists have something to say for themselves in postulating a human origin alike for the Northern elves and the Western fairies. In Scandinavia, at least, there is some evidence that the human prototypes of the elves were the short, dark, magic-working, uncanny Lapps, who were conquered and enslaved by the Gothic invaders of Scandinavia. Professor Nilsson has

clearly exposed to view some links that connect the Lapps and the Scandinavian elves.[13] The "Lapp-shots" of the Scandinavian peasantry, and the "elf-shots" of the Irish and Scottish peasantry (both meaning neolithic arrow-heads) are curiously similar.

The Skraelings of the Norse Sagas are perhaps identifiable with the Eskimo tribes, whom the early Scandinavian settlers found in the northern parts of the American Continent. Yet, in the Saga literature, there is a strange confusion between the human and the elfish traits of the Skraelings. They are described sometimes as if they were trolls, and at other times as if they were the aborigines, who, although differing from the Norsemen in appearance, manners, and speech, were creatures of flesh and blood just like themselves.[14] And that is the way in which the Dananns are described by the Irish Sagas.[15]

As an example of the way in which fairy beliefs, originally resting possibly on an anthropological basis, become fixed and accentuated, I may be allowed to draw upon a personal experience. There is an islet (more correctly a peninsula) at the Butt of Lewis, known by the name of *Luchruban* or *Eilean Dunibeg*. *Luchruban* is the Irish *Luchorpan*, a dwarf or pigmy, and *Eilean Dunibeg* means "the little men's island." Under the name of the Pigmies'

[13] *Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia.*

[14] Archbishop Erik Walkendorf (c. 1520) writes about the Skraelinger: "They were a small people who lived in underground houses and who worshipped gods." (Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, ii., p. 86.)

Some Norse colonists of Vinland fled from the Skraelinger when they first saw them: they thought they were spirits.

[15] *Silva Gadelica* (Eng. text, p. 574) says that the Dananns were "they that first introduced swine" into Ireland (or Munster). A strange distinction for "gods"! The boar was specially associated by the Swedes with the worship of Freya, "the mother of the gods." The peasantry still make images of little boars in paste in February. (See Tacitus, *Germania* (c. 45), on this custom.)

Isle, the peninsula is mentioned by Dean Monro in the sixteenth century, and by other writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Now, this isle had a small so-called kirk, and the kirk had a remarkable history. For "pigmies" had been buried underneath its floor, and the bones of the "pigmies" had been dug up on various occasions—so the story ran. Its truth was proved by the bones which were there to speak for themselves, and to silence the criticisms of the sceptical. The pigmy story attracted many people to the spot to see the bones of the little men; and the fame of the isle seems to have reached literary circles in London, for Collins alludes to it (he was among the credulous) in one of his Odes. When on a visit to Lewis early in the nineteenth century, Sir Walter Scott's correspondent, Dr. John MacCulloch, tried to find the isle, but failing in his search, denied (characteristically) its very existence. Some years ago, I was more fortunate in my search, and the result of digging in the supposed kirk disclosed the existence of two underground chambers, a description of which appears elsewhere.[16] The bones of the "pigmies" were collected and examined at the South Kensington Museum; they turned out to be the bones of various mammals (ox and sheep and lambs) and sea-birds (razor-bills and gulls).

The point of all this is, that we have here a story about "pigmies" who had lived in a fairy-hill (for Luchruban has the appearance of a typical fairy-mound), which story was apparently based on a belief proved to be false. I say *apparently* with good reason, for, although at first sight the conclusion appears irresistible that the pigmy legend derived its origin from the discovery of the small bones, further investigation showed that this conclusion was possibly a mistaken one. There is a tradition in the Luch-

[16] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. of Scotland*, vol. xxxix., pp. 248-258.

ruban district which relates that a race of small men did actually reside there in pre-historic times. The tradition is that these dwarfish people were "Spaniards," who came to Lewis in 1500 B.C. (the less reliable tradition is, the more precise are its dates), the supposed Spanish connexion being unexplained. The pigmies lived on "buffaloes," probably represented by the oxen whose bones have been discovered, and they killed those buffaloes "by throwing sharp-pointed knives at them." The dwarfish people were invaded by "big yellow men from Argyll, who drove them from their ancient possessions near Luchruban." [17]

This tradition may have pre-dated the discovery of the pigmies' bones, the finding of which would, however, accentuate and help to perpetuate the original story about the little men. From the Euhemerist standpoint, there would appear to be ground for the belief that the pigmy tradition originated from an actual prehistoric occupation of the subterranean chambers, by a small people who lived underground and as fairies became immortal. Were these Lewis pigmies Lapps?

It is well to avoid attaching too much ethnological importance to a similarity of customs between different peoples, because it is an argument full of pitfalls. But in one instance at least, the coincidence of custom is so remarkable, and the custom itself is so peculiar, as to prove apparently contact, direct or indirect, with the British Isles by the Lapps. I allude to what may be called the custom of the knotted cord.

The following quotations, set forth in parallel columns, describe the custom as practised respectively in Lapland and Scotland:—

[17] Communicated to the author by a resident of the district. The theories (supported by cranial evidence) of the eminent anthropologists, Sergi and Kollmann, regarding pigmy settlements in Europe in remote times, remain, I believe, unrefuted.

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shore. So he untied the third knot. Instantly there was such a hurricane that most of the houses in Poolewe and Londubh were stripped of their thatch. The boat was cast high and dry on the beach at Dal Cruaidh, just below the house of Kirkton; her crew escaped uninjured. It is said that at that time there were several women about Stornoway who had power by their arts to make the wind favourable."

Selling winds cannot be claimed as a monopoly of Finnish people, but the knotted cord, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is a Finnish, and especially a Lapponic, specialty. In Regnard's *Journey to Lapland*, it is stated that the "knotted" way of selling the wind was "very common" in Lapland. "The very lowest sorcerers have this power, provided that the wind which is wanted has already commenced and requires only to be excited."[19]

Readers of Scott's *The Pirate*, will recall how Norna of Fitful-Head sold favourable winds, and in his notes on this romance, he cites Olaus Magnus, who tells of one King Eric of Sweden, called Windy Cap, in allusion to his power of making the wind blow whichever way he chose by turning his cap in the desired direction. This was just the sort of wizardry that the Scandinavians probably learned from the Lapps or Finns. The prototype of Scott's Norna was Bessie Millie, who lived at Stromness in the Orkneys over a hundred years ago, and who had a flourishing business as a seller of favourable winds to storm-stayed skippers. The goodwill of Bessie's business was acquired by one Annie Tulloch or Mammie Scott, who sold favourable winds at the rate of

[19] Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, i., p. 180.

eighteen pence apiece. Her method of applying the principle of the knotted cord was to instruct the skippers to go to sea with two reefs in the mainsail, only one of which was to be shaken out during the voyage. If both were shaken out, a contrary gale sprang up, but if the vessel were driven back to the Orkneys, a "whole-sail" breeze could be purchased from the accommodating Annie for a further consideration.[20]

Professor Frazer gives the interesting information that Shetland seamen still buy winds, in the shape of knotted handkerchiefs or threads, from old women who claim to rule the storms.[21] Witches on the mainland of Scotland had other means (see Dalzell) of raising the wind, which (literally) was a far easier task some centuries ago than (figuratively) it is at the present day. The custom of the knotted cord was also known in the Isle of Man, and Thorpe says that there was a woman at Siseby on the Slei who sold winds to the herring fishers in the same manner.[22] But wherever practised, the custom was apparently borrowed from the Finnish peoples, whose wizardry was of the same character as that of the Irish Dananns.[23]

The exercise of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft, by whatever name it is called, Shamanism in short, was the governing principle of these peoples. "The rule of the Shaman (or wizard) over nature," says Comparetti, "is the fundamental idea of Shamanism." He adds that, until quite recently, the Lapps were Shamanists like the Eskimos and Samoyedes, a fact confirmed by the great fame which they enjoyed in ancient times among the Scandinavians, for the truth of

[20] Tudor, *The Orkneys and Shetlands*, p. 335.

[21] *The Golden Bough*, pp. 322-6. [22] *Northern Mythology*, iii., p. 23-4.

[23] The Seid-women of the Scandinavians received money "to make men hard, so that iron could not wound them" (Thorpe, ii., p. 214). This is analagous to the healing baths of hot milk and herbs employed by the Dananns to cure the wounded; which was effected instantaneously.

which Comparetti quotes conclusive evidence. "There is," he says, "abundant information on this point;" and every student of the Icelandic Sagas will agree with him. Lapland witches, more properly wizards, were known in England as well. Comparetti thus describes the Shaman:—"The Shaman is more than a simple priest: he is the seer, he is the medicine-man, he is wise and powerful above all others, and is capable of miraculous actions. With his actions and his word, he dominates things and men and animals and spirits; he cures ills or prevents them; he can even produce them; he can propitiate superior beings and obtain benefits; can ensure good luck for the hunt, the fishing, the journey; can raise winds and storms, and clouds and fogs, and tempests, and can lay them, scatter them, disperse them; he can transform himself and others; he can rise in spirit into the realms of air, go down into those of the dead, and carry off their secret." [24] The Dananns of Ireland had their Shamans; so, too, as we shall see, had the Cruithne of Ireland and the Picts of Scotland.

[24] *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns* (Anderton), p. 172.

CHAPTER IV.

The Lapponic theory further discussed—Disproved by anthropological evidence—MacFirbis on the Dananns—The Irish texts on the Dananns—The elves of light and the elves of darkness—St. Patrick and elf-worship—The elf-creed introduced to Ireland by Scandinavians—Folk-lore as an aid to ethnology—A classification of the Teutonic elves—The application of elf-beliefs to the Dananns—Parallels between the Dananns and Scandinavian mythology—Thorpe on the resemblances between Teutonic and Celtic folk-lore.

What may be called the Lapponic view of the Danann problem is not lacking in support from the evidence of anthropology and archæology. Professor Retzius is quoted by Mr. Borlase [1] as having maintained that there was a race in Britain of Turanic origin represented by the Lapps and brachycephalic Finns, which preceded and was entirely different from what Retzius calls the "Celtic" type. Of a brachycephalic skull, found in a cist near the Knockadown group of circles at Lough Gur, Professor Harkness remarked that "it seemed to be a member of a race approximating most nearly to the modern Finn or Lapp." [2] And Borlase states that the dark races in Ireland (and Scotland) include types both of dolichocephaly and of brachycephaly. "In the wilds of Donegal," he says, "I have seen both these types." [3] He describes the burial customs of the Lapps as recorded by Scheffer, and adds: "In every particular of this account, we see precisely what archæological research on the one hand and legend and tradition, committed to writing in the middle ages, coupled with folk-lore still in oral survival, on the other hand, lead us to believe occurred in the case of

[1] *The Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 1,009.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1011.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1032.

the dolmens and chambered tumuli." The Lapp burial customs, he thinks, show an identity of custom between the Turanian peoples of Northern Europe and a primitive race in the British Isles." [4]

On the other hand, Huxley showed that the ancient Irish skull was "predominantly dolichocephalic." The contrary opinion seems to have generally prevailed, to some extent, he thought, in consequence of a mistake on the part of Retzius, who ascribed an erroneous cephalic index to the Phœnix Park skull.[5] Huxley denied that there was any really brachycephalic stock in Ireland.[6] Beddoe, who discovered evidences of a Turanian stock in Wales, the West of England, and some parts of Scotland, found the prevailing Irish skull to be long, low, and narrow. "Of forty-one skulls in the Barnard Davis collection," he says, "only two were brachycephalic; and of thirty-eight heads measured by us in Kerry, only one would have been brachycephalic (exceeding the index of 80) in the skull." The Irish, he adds, are more homogeneous than the inhabitants of Great Britain. "and extremes in the form of the head are rare, as are also extremes in stature." [7] The inclination to prognathism in Ireland he considered to be of remote date, and to point to an African source.

Thus, there is an apparent conflict of scientific opinion on the existence of brachycephaly in Ireland, but the weight of evidence seems to show that its presence, at the most, is isolated and unimportant. It is therefore impossible to believe that if a race of Lapponic affinities were the dominant people in that island at a remote period, cranial evidence of the fact would not be pronounced, for the Lapps are characterised by extreme brachycephaly. Nor do the archæological *data* cited by Borlase carry conviction, for a

[4] *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 477.

[5] *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 126. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[7] *The Races of Britain*, p. 264.

similarity of burial customs is an unsafe basis to rest upon, when unsupported by distinct cranial or other conclusive proofs of racial identity.

On these grounds, and others that follow, I have found myself unable to adhere to a theory that at one time seemed to me to be tenable, namely, that the Dananns were of Lapponic origin. At the same time, it is difficult to explain certain factors that enter into the question, except on the hypothesis of some form of contact with a Ugro-Finnish race.

Duald MacFirbis gives the following characteristics of the descendants of the Dananns, taken (like his description of the Firbolgs) from "an old book."

"Every one who is fair-haired, vengeful, large; and every plunderer; every musical person; the professors of musical and entertaining performances; who are adepts in all Druidical and magical arts; they are the descendants of the Tuatha de Danann in Erin!" [8]

The physical features of the Dananns (assuming the reliability of this tradition) effectively dispose of the Lapponic theory; and their other characteristics bear a strong family likeness to those that distinguished the Cruithne—a genuinely historical people—as recorded by the Irish texts. The Cruithne, we are told, taught "necromancy and idolatry, plundering in ships, bright poems, signs and omens." [9]

Thus we find the Dananns as a tall, fair race of men with

[8] O'Curry's *Lectures on MS. Materials*, p. 223. *Cf.* another version, which has it, "every fair great cowkeeper on the plain" (p. 580).

Beddoe (*The Races of Britain*, p. 265) found in the west of Cavan, the breed to which Sir W. Wilde referred as the descendants of the Dananns, a fair, large-limbed, comely people.

[9] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 42. When the Moors first came in contact with the Scandinavians, they believed them to be a race of magicians. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* (Percy) p. 173. The Scandinavians were great believers in omens.

a propensity alike for magic and piracy. But their supernatural side is accentuated by the later texts more sharply than their humanity.

That is a perplexing *impasse*, from which it seems to me that the only way of escape is to assume a basis of dualism. We have to deal, it would appear, with an actual historic race, who were the ruling people in Ireland, and the traditions concerning whom are impregnated with their mythology. If we examine that mythology, we find ourselves confronted with the Teutonic system of gods and elves, and more particularly the Scandinavian system as described in the Eddas.

The first glimpse we get of the Dananns in the Irish texts reveals them as a resplendent throng, waiting on a green knoll to receive and warn of their danger the intruding Milesian Scots. They were "in bright raiment and themselves more glorious than the dawn." There were among them "three men of mighty stature, and one of them had hair like glistening silver." There were also "three women, one majestic and gentle; and one slender and very graceful, with laughter-loving lips; and the third had thoughtful brows that seemed to read the future." And the voice of him who sat upon the crest of the knoll was "as of distant thunder." [10]

Here, conceivably, we have a confused picture of what may be intended for descendants of the Scandinavian *Liósálfar*, or Light Elves of the Northern mythology, the latter being distinguished from the *Svartálfar*, or dark elves, by their appearance and qualities.[11] The Light Elves were

[10] O'Grady, *History of Ireland*, i., p. 66.

[11] "The land which King Álf ruled was called Alfheim, and all the people that spring from him are of the Alfa-kin; next after the Risar, they were finer than other people" (Thorstein's *Saga Vikingssonar*, c. 1, cited by Du Chaillu, i., p. 411). "It is known from all old sayings about the people that are called Alfar that they were much finer than other kinds of men in the northern lands" (*Sögubrot*, c. 10, Du Chaillu, i., 411).

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degrec the characteristics which, in an exaggerated form—sometimes a greatly exaggerated form—have been attributed to the whole tribe of elves, dwarfs, pigmies, fairies, pixies, brownies, and other variants. The cases of the Skraellings and the Eskimos, the Lapps and the dwarfs, have already been cited to show how the human and non-human elements have become blended and confused. In the same way, there is every reason to believe that the Irish legends have confounded the Teutonic Dananns with the elves and dwarfs of their mythology.

The prevalence in Ireland of this elf-creed as late as the time of St. Patrick is clearly discernible. In *Fiacc's Hymn*, for example, we find an allusion to the fact that when Patrick went on his mission to Ireland, "the tribes worshipped elves." Complementary to this evidence, Manx legend states that Manannan MacLir (of the Dananns) and his people were "routed by St. Patrick, whereupon being of small stature, they became fairies, and lived in the ancient tumuli, using flint-arrows as the weapons with which they avenged their wrongs on human beings." [16]

This must mean that St. Patrick attacked elf-worship, and that after the introduction of Christianity, it survived only furtively and secretly in fairy beliefs. But the tradition seems to suggest, also, that a small-statured people, whose weapon was the bow, were at one time associated with the people called the Dananns. And here again we come in contact with the familiar "elf-shots" of the Irish peasantry, and the fairy arrows of the Highlanders of Scotland, both derived, perhaps, from Scandinavian legends of the miraculous archery of the primitive Finnish race of sorcerers, whom the Gothic stock displaced in Northern Europe.

The inference from all this is that the elf-creed was introduced to Ireland, Great Britain, and the Isle of Man, by a people apparently belonging to the Scandinavian branch of

[16] Moore's *History of the Isle of Man*, p. 47.

the Teutonic race.[17] From their contact with the Lapps, the traditions and legends of the Scandinavians were saturated to a greater extent than those of the Germans, with stories of underground elves; dwarfish smiths who forged magic swords and spears, and endowed them with uncanny properties; impish trolls who might be friendly or mischievous; and fear-inspiring wizards whose spells were unequalled in potency, and whose essence was regarded as divine.

Place-names, as I shall show, attest the presence of a Scandinavian people in Ireland in the second century; and anthropology seems to bring us into contact with the same people in Ireland at a period anterior to the Christian era. It is not assuming too much to suppose that these people are responsible for a good deal of the elements, common to Celtic and Teutonic mythology, that bulk so largely in the legends of Ireland and Scotland. Conquering settlers in a new country do not leave their mythology at home. If they remain segregated from the natives, they cherish their legends with conspicuous tenacity. But if they coalesce with the natives, they incorporate the indigenous legends with their own. The latter process makes folk-lore an eminently unsafe guide in determining, unaided, ethnological questions, though it is a useful auxiliary to anthropology and etymology. It corroborates, for example, the testimony of philology that the Gael of Ireland and of Scotland have a common origin, by showing us a body of legends common to both countries; and it confirms the conclusion that when the Scots left ancient Scotia (Ireland) and settled in Dalriada (part of modern Scotland), they brought their legends and traditions with them. This applies to the Fionn Saga; and a simple explanation is thus offered of what

[17] There is evidence to show that of the two creeds in Scandinavia, the Alfar and the Asar, the former was the older, the worship of Odin displacing it. In the earlier Edda, there are allusions to *Alfa-blót*, the sacrifices made to the Alfar.

at one time provided a bone of contention between the sea-divided Gael. But, if we go still further back, who can say how much, for example, of the Cuchullin Saga is of imported origin, and how much is native to the Irish soil? Who, indeed, can say what share of the Fenian stories rightly belongs to our islands? Signs of a dual origin are not difficult to discover, strongly suggestive of an admixture of races, all of them tenacious of their native lore.

But this "elf" theory, in its relation to the Dananns, requires closer investigation. The uncertainty attaching to the origin of the elf-beliefs is illustrated by the tradition in Jutland concerning them. It is there related that when the fallen angels were cast out of Heaven,[18] some of them fell on the mounds or barrows and became Barrow-folk, or, as they are also called, Mount-folk and Hill-folk; others fell into the elf-moors, who were the progenitors of the Elf-folk; while others fell into dwellings, from whom descended the domestic sprites.

Now, the Barrow-folk are identical with the Irish *siabhras*,[19] which is a compound word meaning Brugh or Barrow *sídh*, or in other words, Mound or Mount Elves, the elves whose abodes were in the tombs. They are also the same as the "dwarfs," who, in the later popular beliefs, are generally "subterranean"; [20] and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them from the Norse *Huldre* (Hidden) folk, and *Thusser* or trolls. The domestic elves are the Norse

[18] To this day, it is believed in Ulster that the fairies are fallen angels.

[19] Tales of Berg-folk, or Barrow-folk, form the commonest type of Danish folk-lore.

[20] In the Scandinavian texts, the *Svartálfar* or dark elves, and the *Dvergar*, or dwarfs, are sometimes indistinguishable from one another. (*Cf. Skáldskaparmal*, 35, cited by Du Chaillu, i., 411.)

It may be observed that "elf" and "alp" are radically associated; and that the original idea of "dwarf" was not smallness, but crookedness (Celtic *cruith*). "The dwarfs," remarks Sir Walter Scott (Lockhart's *Life*), "are the prime agents in the machinery of Norwegian superstition."

Nisser and the Scottish Brownies, the kindly folk who perform useful offices for their human friends. So, too, the Scandinavian *Nök*, or *Neck* ("Old Nick") is the Highland Kelpie or Water-horse.

Possibly the names of the four "cities" possessed by the Danànns in Scandinavia may signify either the settlements of Odin and his followers, or a sub-division of elves like the above. If the latter is the fact, Falias would mean the abodes of the Hill-folk (O. Ic. F*jall*, Eng. "fell"); Murias, the abodes of the Moor-elves (O. Ic. *Mór*); Gorias, the abodes of the Cliff-elves (Eng. "gore" and its cognates) whom the Irish texts call the "Far" (guardian) Shees of the promontories"[21] (the *Land-Vættir* of the Norse); and Finnias, the abodes of the marsh elves (*fen*, a marsh).[22]

The views of the "realists" seem to derive some support from the popular beliefs of the Teutonic peoples, concerning the appearance and the habits of their elves. The trolls—a name which Thorpe considered to be a common denomination for all noxious supernatural beings—were thought to be as large as some men.[23] The young females of the elves were believed to be extremely beautiful, slender as lilies, white as swans, and with sweet, enticing voices. These are the sirens of Irish folk-lore, against whose allurements men were

[21] Manannan MacLir is called "the mighty genius of the storm-swept promontories of the sea" (O'Grady, ii., p. 260). In Scandinavian mythology, the Vœttir (wights) are generally, though not invariably, associated with the functions of guardianship.

[22] By Dobhar and Iardobhar (lit. "water" and "west-water"), the places in the North of Scotland where the Dananns are said to have lived before passing over to Ireland, the parts bordering upon the Pentland Firth and the Minch may conceivably be meant.

[23] *Northern Mythology*, ii., p. 14. On the other hand, they are sometimes described as being a thumb high, or even no bigger than ants. A fine set of ivory chessmen, probably of Scandinavian workmanship, was found in 1831 in the island of Lewis by a man, who, on discovering the figures, ran away in terror, thinking they were "an assemblage of elves." Most of the chess-men are now in the *B*ritish Museum, and a few in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

advised to stop their ears with wax. According to old tradition, the "subterraneans" of Iceland [24] were under the government of two chiefs, changeable every second year, when, accompanied by some of their people, they went to Norway to renew their oath of fealty to the king of the whole race, and render an account of their administration. The dwarfs, again, lived together as a regular people, employing themselves as smiths and miners, and behaving themselves so peaceably as to be called the "still folk." In the German tales, they are described as dark-coloured, deformed, diminutive, and coarsely clad.[25] And in the later folk-lore, they are sometimes called, among other names, the "subterraneans" and "the brown men in the moor."[26] They could make themselves invisible at will. The females spun and wove, and the males were smiths. They borrowed and sought advice from human beings, and were careful to reward such services. Their females were sometimes married to, and had children by, men. But they revenged themselves for injuries by laming cattle, carrying off girls, and other elfish tricks.

In all this, we have a picture of the mediæval notions concerning the Dananns. The earlier beliefs make them a conquering race of men, formidably equipped with magic arts (really a relatively high civilisation), by means of which they overcame their enemies. The later beliefs make them elves and fairies, and attendant spirits. How are the two sets of ideas to be reconciled? Only as I have suggested, by postulating a real people whose mythology has been confounded with themselves. The great Brugh or Barrow

[24] According to the Book of Armagh, the *sídhe* (to give the Dananns their later name) were *dei terreni*, and by *Cóir Anmann*, the Dagda is called an "earth-god" (Wentz *Fairy Faith*, p. 291).

[25] *Northern Mythology*, ii., p. 9. According to the newspapers, a small, deformed Irish boy was exhibited recently (and people paid to see him in Scotland) as a *leprechaun* or elf.

[26] They are called "the brown men of the moor" in Scottish folk-lore.

of the Boyne is said to have been built by the Dagda (a chief named Eochaid), and he himself was interred there with his sons and the nobles of the Dananns. That is quite an intelligible tradition of the custom of "mounding," which was a feature of Scandinavian—more particularly Swedish—burials at a well-defined period of history. The "cemeteries of the idolaters," described in the *Leabhar na h' Uidhre*, one of the oldest of the Irish texts, pertained to these elf-worshippers, whose beliefs St. Patrick ostensibly destroyed, but really failed to eradicate. For they were secretly, but none the less surely, grafted upon the Christian creed, and in spite of all the attempts of the Church to uproot them, they can be easily traced at the present day in quarters where their existence might be least suspected.[27]

There would appear to be some ground for thinking that the great Dagda, originally perhaps a Scandinavian chief, has been deified, much in the same way as Ethelwerd and Kentigern (or Jocelyn), and more than one modern writer have maintained that the real Odin was a conquering warrior who, after his death, was raised by his followers to the rank of the chief of the Asar. Indeed, it is not impossible that the accounts of the Dagda may be a confused rendering of Odin's career and his feats of magic. There is a striking similarity between the Odinic attributes, as given in the Eddas, and those of the Dananns, as described in a poem in the Book of Invasions and preserved by Keating.[28] The

[27] We find the same conditions in Scandinavia, as illustrated by the following regulation in the ancient law of Norway called *Gulathing's Lagen*: "Let the King and the Bishop with all possible care make inquiry after those who exercise Pagan superstitions; who make use of magic arts; who adore the genii of particular places or of tombs or rivers; and who by a diabolic manner of travelling are transported from place to place through the air."

A council held at Rouen contains a prohibition of the same nature. (*Northern Mythology*, p. 513.)

[28] *History* (1723), p. 46. (*Cf.* Odin's magical powers as detailed in the *Ynglinga Saga*, ch. 7.)

The Book of Invasions tells us that when the Norwegians saw the

Dananns are accredited with the ability to raise "ghosts" from the tombs, one of the magical feats among the many, by means of which Odin is said to have established his ascendancy throughout Scandinavia.[29] And there may be more than a coincidence in the resemblance between Lug, the Danann god of the Rising Sun, with his wonderful mountain-sundering sword (the *Fray-garta*) and Frey, the symbol of the sun in the Scandinavian mythology; the god who also possessed a magic sword that was irresistible in its might.[30] Still more arresting is the fact that *Lir* is the Irish and *Hlêr* the Norse god of the Sea. And these parallels might be extended if necessary.[31] But it is in the elf-stories that the coincidences between Teutonic and Celtic folklore are so exact and so striking.[32] Here the resemblances are so close as to point strongly to a common origin. Remarking on this similitude, Thorpe thinks that it is

"necromantick art" of the Dananns, they "gave them cities and adored their learning, and begged them to communicate their art and teach the Danish youth their mysteries." It was Odin and the *Diar* who taught "mysteries" to their Gothic predecessors in Scandinavia.

[29] One of the many names of Odin is *Drauga dróttin*, lord of spectres.

[30] Frey is sometimes described as the King of Alfheim, thus linking him directly with the elf-beliefs of the Scandinavians.

[31] The Morrega, the Dagda's wife, may be Frigg, Odin's spouse. In the mythology of Ireland, there must have been inevitable confusion between the gods and the elves.

[32] The translators (Powell and Magnússon) of the Icelandic legends collected by Jón Arnason, mention in their introductory essay (XLIII., 1866) that "the great number of proper names connected with elves shews clearly how common the belief in them has once been. These beings are differently denominated: álfar, alfáfólk, álfakyn, álfkona, *i.e.*, elves, elf-folk, elf-kin or kind, elf-woman. They are also called huldufólk, huldumadr, huldskona, *i.e.*, hid-folk, hid-woman, which latter names betokened their power of remaining invisible to human beings. One name yet is applied to them as mild and propitious, *Ljúflingur*, 'Lovelings.'"

There is a close resemblance between the elf-stories collected by Mr. Arnason and the fairy stories of Ireland and Scotland. "Changelings" and "elfin lovers" appear in both.

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CHAPTER V.

Druidism and its significance—Druidism and the Dananns—The *Lia Fail*—Stones of Fate—An Icelandic example—The Ogam Script—Illusionism—Scottish examples of the practice of the *Sian*—Highland belief in the efficacy of charms—Dwarfs and hunchbacks—The Dananns identified with the Cruithen people of Ireland—The meaning of "Cruithne"—Cruithne, "the father of the Picts."

It may be useful here to examine the connexion between the so-called Druidism of Ireland and the Dananns. The word "Druid" is of ancient, if rather obscure, lineage. It is intimately associated with A. S. *dry*, a magician, but its nearest cognate is probably *drude*, which in Low German and Danish means a "sorceress." The ultimate source of the word is uncertain, but there is no sound reason for associating it with the Cymric *derw*, an oak. It is plain from the texts that "Druid" in Irish and Scottish lore is always to be equated with *magus*.[1]

It is frequently assumed that the "Druidism" of Ireland and Scotland was of the same character as that of Gaul, as described by Cæsar and other Roman writers. But there is not a syllable in any ancient and reliable text, to warrant the belief that the tenets of the Gaulish cult were those either of Irish or Scottish Druidism. The Druids of Gaul were philosophers; those of Ireland and Scotland were sorcerers. The Druids of Gaul taught natural science, discoursed speculatively on transcendental subjects, and proclaimed the immortality of the soul. They were prophets, they were priests, and if they were not kings, they were king-makers. They gave their sanction to, and presided at, human

[1] Nothing is clearer in the oldest texts than the association of magic with the Druids of Ireland and Scotland.

sacrifices, and the reason for their approval, unconvincing to us, seemed good to them. The Druids whom we meet in the Irish texts are on an entirely different plane. The power they exercised over the minds of the people was due to their supposed pre-eminence in magical arts, and to nothing else. We find them controlling storms, healing the wounded in magical baths, and casting spells over men and animals. In every way their wizardry corresponded with that attributed to the Dananns. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Irish Druids were either Dananns themselves, or had learned their wizardry in the Danannic school; and it is apparent that when St. Patrick landed in Ireland, the Druidism of the country was simply Shamanism.[2]

The Irish Druids played an important part in the inauguration of the High Kings at Temair, or Tara; but it was a secret part, for there is nothing to show that they ever exercised openly any political influence in Ireland, as the philosophic Druids undoubtedly did in Gaul. At these inaugurations, the *Lia Fail*, the stone which the Dananns brought with them to Ireland from Scandinavia, "chanted" approval if the candidate who stood upon it was the rightful king. The Irish commentators do not conceal their opinion that the voice was really that of a "Druid" ventriloquist, which, in point of fact, is quite a sensible explanation.

The *Lia Fail* has a whole literature to itself. The origin of the name is dubious. *Lia* means "stone" in Irish, and that it originally meant a flat stone is shown by the Cymric *lêch*. *Fail* has been variously interpreted, one theory being that *Fal* was a Sun-god. It will be remembered that the legend states that the stone was brought from Falias by the Dananns, and that I have assumed a meaning for Falias

[2] In the *Lorica of St. Patrick* the saint prays for protection "against the spells of women, and smiths, and Druids" (Haddan and Stubbs, p. 322). "Smith" is a peculiarly Scandinavian word, associated with charms and spells.

cognate with "fell" or mountain. It is believed that one of the names of Ireland, *Innis Fail*—the Fail Island—is derived from the *Lia Fail*, but the connexion is doubtful. It was long thought that the Tara stone and the stone at Scone upon which the Kings of Scotland were crowned were identical; but Professor Ramsay and Dr. Skene have between them demolished that theory. Probably most Irishmen still claim a proprietary right in the stone taken from Scone, which now lies enclosed in the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey; [3] but the rightful place for that stone is not in the Dublin Museum, but the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. There is no adequate ground for supposing that the *Lia Fail* and the stone at Westminster are the same.[4] The legend had its origin in the fact that the Scottish monarchy was derived from Ireland, from which country it was supposed that the Scots brought the *Lia Fail* when they colonised Dalriada in modern Scotland, afterwards taking it to Scone when they overcame the Picts in the ninth century. Another supposition is that it was sent from Ireland to Scone by the High King of Ireland to his son-in-law, Kenneth MacAlpin, the first monarch of the combined nations of the Picts and Scots. It is surely reasonable to think that, if the *Lia Fail* was such a precious relic as it is represented to have been—and there is little doubt that the

[3] I believe that some Fenians once attempted to steal the stone from the Abbey. Had they succeeded, and carried it off to Ireland, they would have been guilty literally of misguided patriotism.

One of the clauses in the Treaty of Northampton (1328) made provision for the restoration of the Coronation Stone to Scotland; but the Abbot of Westminster refused to let it pass out of his possession. Possibly, some day, a Scottish Dean of Westminster, more potent in this matter than Scottish Archbishops, may perform a patriotic duty and redeem England's pledge, by causing the Stone (not the Chair, which is sometimes confused with the Stone), to be sent back to the country to which it belongs.

[4] The Scone stone must have had the same origin and use as the Mora (moor) stone in the plain near Upsal, where the king was elected by the national assembly of all the Swedes.

Irish accounts of the stone are in the main reliable—no consideration would have been of sufficient weight to permit of its being sent out of the country. "An auspicious omen," the reason suggested by O'Flaherty in his *Ogygia* for the transfer, means nothing; but I have never seen a better reason suggested. Almost certainly, the *Lia Fail* remained in Ireland, and Petrie quotes an Irish poem, dated 985 A.D., to show that this was the case. He endeavoured to identify it with a pillar-stone called *Bod Ferguis*, but a *lêch*, a flat stone that was stood upon, could not have been a pillar-stone.[5] Whitley Stokes quotes a fifteenth century MS. containing an allusion to the *Lia Fail* "which is in Tara." This is at least presumptive evidence that the *Lia Fail* was believed to be then in Ireland.

The *Lia Fail* was known as the Stone of Destiny, the Fatal Stone, and the Stone of Knowledge, the last name appearing in the Book of Leinster. Why was it called by these names? O'Flaherty states that it was called the "Fatal Stone," because "the princes used to try their fate on it;" and the other names were applied for a similar reason. But "Stones of Fate" were not peculiar to Ireland. They were known to the Scandinavians; and they were used in the temples of Iceland.[6]

Two Icelanders, Thorstein and Indrid (tenth century) were mortal enemies. One night Indrid left his house with the object of killing Thorstein. Simultaneously, Thorstein entered a temple, where he prostrated himself before a stone and prayed to know his fate. "The stone replied in a kind of chant that his feet were already in the grave; that his fatal enemy was at hand; and that he would never see the rising of the next morning's sun."[7]

[5] The ancient Irish are believed to have worshipped pillar-stones. The Storjunkars worshipped by the Lapps were stone idols (see Scheffer, pp. 105-6).

[6] *Northern Antiquities*, p. 116.

[7] Dunham, *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway*, p. 87 (sec. 2).

This is precisely analagous to the "kind of chant" with which the *Lia Fail* was accredited. Sir John Rhys cites a story mentioned by O'Curry concerning Conn of the Hundred Battles, a famous Irish king, who trod upon a stone which screamed loudly. The "Druid" who accompanied him interpreted the scream. "The *Lia Fail* has screamed under thy feet," he said, "and it has prophesied. The number of screams which it gave is the number of the kings that shall come of thy seed for ever."[8] The "Druid" added (very judiciously) that he was not allowed to give him any further information.

The application of these arguments to the Dananns will now be considered. From first to last, they seem to be associated with the *Lia Fail*. It was they who brought the stone to Ireland; it was they, apparently, who taught its use as an agency of divination; and it was probably they who benefited by it in their capacity of "Druids" or wizards. Dunham believed that the scene in the Icelandic temple which he describes, was a relic of stone-worship adopted by the Norwegians from the Lapps (perhaps the cult of Storjunkar, the "Vicar" of Thor).

The Ogam script, of the origin of which nothing certain is known, is associated by Irish legend with the Dananns. By the Book of Ballymote, the characters are directly attributed to that people; and it is impossible to dissociate them from the name Ogma given to one of the Danann leaders. The stones bearing Ogam inscriptions are sometimes called "Druid" stones; in other words, the script is connected with the exercise of magic. There is, in point of fact, a conflict of opinion whether or not the script was of a secret nature; the closely-guarded possession of the heathen priesthood to whom the name of "Druids" was given. That

[8] See O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 388. In Gaelic (Irish and Scottish), *dàn* means "fate" or "destiny." Possibly the word may be a derivative from "Danann."

seems to have been the view of the eminent antiquarian, Sir James Ware, and others; but later students like Sir John Rhys and Professor Bury, who have deciphered some of the inscriptions, take a different view.

The Ogam characters are of course not peculiar to Ireland. They have been found in England, Wales, Scotland, and the Isle of Man. In Scotland they are confined to the recognized Pictish area, with the exception of a doubtful example in the island of Gigha. Some writers, like Canon Isaac Taylor, have boldly declared their belief in the Scandinavian origin of the Ogams; but it would be unwise to dogmatise in one direction or another in the present state of our knowledge.

"Illusionism," so constantly associated with the Dananns, and equally attributed by tradition to the historical Cruithne, was a feature of Scandinavian magic. Probably it was borrowed from the Lapps, the arch-necromancers. The latter, when pursued by their foes, had a useful habit of throwing pebbles behind them which appeared to their enemies as mountains, or of casting snow on the ground and making it look like a mighty river.[9] We find in the Highlands of Scotland many instances of the practice of similar illusionism, called by the name of *sian* (possibly connected with the root *sid*). The best examples of which I am aware are cited by Mr. F. H. Dixon in his interesting collection of stories from the Gairloch district of Wester Ross. He tells of a celebrated smuggler in that district who turned his knowledge of the *sian* to profitable account in the practice

[9] See *Saxo Grammaticus* (Elton, p. 204); also Dunham, pp. 72-3, sec. 1. The feats of the Danann *magi* bear a striking resemblance to those described in the text (see Douglas Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 286-7). The feats of magic performed by King Leoghaire's Druids in their contest with St. Patrick consisted in covering the plain with snow, which Patrick immediately melted, and creating a thick fog, which the saint immediately dispersed. The Danann witches changed trees into a host under arms (Rhys, *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1910), p. 28).

of his business. "Alastair"—for that was his Christian name—constantly ran the blockade by the use of the *sian*. When a Government vessel hove in sight, he pronounced an incantation, employed an amulet (probably a piece of skin), and his boat instantly became invisible. When he got his casks of whisky ashore, he made passes over them, and lo! they disappeared from sight until the spell was removed. On other occasions, when a revenue vessel appeared upon the scene, he would take a thole-pin from the boat, and whittle it with his knife, "when each of the chips as it fell into the water would appear to the crew of the preventive vessel to be a fully-manned boat."[10]

The power of the charm has long been an article of faith in the Highlands, where, side by side with the fairy creed, belief in its efficacy has survived with remarkable tenacity. It is far from being extinct even at the present day in some of the islands, where probably "healing stones" are still secretly built into buildings; where the Evil Eye is still dreaded; where women are still believed to have the power of casting spells over their neighbours' cattle; or of making their enemies waste away by melting a waxen image before the fire; or of bewitching them in other sinister ways. These beliefs, the legacy of heathendom, lurk hidden away in the inner lives of the people, too far from the surface to be easily eradicated by education, and too intimately bound up with the emotions to be easily separated from the religion of the Cross.[11]

Among the Scandinavians, witchcraft of a sinister kind was called *seid*. It was held in later times to be unworthy

[10] Dixon's *Gairloch*, pp. 165-8. One of the properties of MacLeod's "fairy flag" in Dunvegan Castle was to multiply the numbers of the MacLeods in battle.

[11] There was a notable case in the Island of Lewis some years ago, exemplifying, by means of evidence given in the Law-courts, the prevalence of beliefs such as those stated in the text.

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Sídhe are the same, and the identification of both with the Cruithen people is confirmed by a statement in *Leabhar na h'Uidhre* that Crimthann's wife, Nar, was of the Tuàtha de Dananu. And *Nar*, it may be added, is Cymric for "dwarf." It appears, too, in Scandinavian mythology as a dwarf name.

Now, here we have an unmistakable identification of the Dananns with the Cruithen people. But what is the meaning of the latter name? Many and various have been the etymologies suggested, varying from "harpers" to "wheat-eaters," and from "Prussians" to "Picts." Dr. Latham and Professor Graves simultaneously suggested that *Crutheni* was the Celtic form of *Prutheni*, the Old Prussians, but at the present day, the name is always equated with the Latin *Picti*, the assumption being that the root of the word is *Cruth* (Cymric *pryd*) meaning "form." That appears to me to be an obvious attempt to make the name fit in somehow with the idea of self-painting. Even if it were a fact that the Cruithne (to use the spelling of greatest authority) painted the "forms" of animals on their bodies, is it probable that they would be designated so clumsily to denote that fact?

The earliest contemporary allusion to the Cruithne is to be found in Adamnan, who calls them *Cruithini populi*. That is the Latin rendering of *Chruithen-tuaith* which, as we have just seen, means the Cruithen or Cruithne people. We saw further that the latter were identical with the people of the *Sídhe* (fairies or elves), and the people of the *Sídhe* with the Dananns. We have only to go a step further to see

= the strong), again showing the Danann connection with the fairies. Mr. David Mac-Ritchie (*Fians, Fairies, and Picts*, p. 70) supposes that Nar may have been the last of a dynasty. That may well have been the case, thus explaining the name "Nar's champion." It would have been in accordance with the custom observed in Scandinavia when the heiress was a female—a question discussed in connexion with the Picts of Scotland in a later part of this book.

that the name "Cruithne" has the same radical significance as *Sídh* or elf. We find it in Cymric as *Crwtyn*, a little fellow, and in Irish Gaelic as *Cruitineach*, a humpback or dwarf, which is the same word as that translated (with unconscious humour) in the dictionaries of Irish and Scottish Gaelic as "Pict." In the mythology of Ireland and Scotland, as well as in that of the Teutonic nations generally, fairies, elves, pigmies, dwarfs, and hunchbacks are frequently indistinguishable, as may be seen by a comparison of the native names for those beings. The word *leprachaun* (spelt in different ways) is now the name most commonly used, and it can be legitimately employed either for an elf or a pigmy. The Irish, too, like the Teutons, gave a crooked shape to their dwarfs, as denoted by the root *cruith*; hence a harp, from its humpbacked shape, is called a *cruith* or crowd, and the hump plainly protrudes in the name of the people called the Cruithne.[15]

Etymology thus corroborates the testimony of legend and tradition in associating the Dananns with the Cruithne, and later on, I shall show how the Cruithne are similarly linked with the Scottish Picts. It is necessary to add that an eponym has been invented for the Cruithne in the person of Cruidne or Cruithne, "the father of the Picts." It was quite sufficient for mediæval and later writers on Irish subjects, to explain the meaning of the name of the people by saying that they were the descendants of "Cruithne"; but nowadays the eponymic method is rightly regarded as being a confession of ignorance of origin. We shall meet again the people called the Cruithne when we come down to historic times. Meantime, I have tried to show that they received their name from their elf-creed. Certainly, they themselves were neither elves nor dwarfs, but a race of stout fighters,

[15] The root *cruith* preserves the original meaning of "dwarf," which, as already stated, implied crookedness (see Fox Talbot's *English Etymologies*, p. 38).

whose original home, as the solitary word (*Cartit*) in their language which they have bequeathed to posterity, and other circumstances seem to show, was some portion of the country loosely named Scandinavia.[16]

[16] I may here place on record the opinion of Colgan, the eminent Irish scholar, that the Picts were Danes.

CHAPTER VI.

The Milesians—The two tales of Irish origins—Gadel and Scota—The stories post-Patrician—The Scottish version—Scythian and Scot—The vagueness of the name "Scythia"—Nennius on the progenitor of the Scots—The *Pictish Chronicle* on the Scythians and the Goths—Their common descent from Magog—How the confusion between the Goths and the Scythians arose—The Lombards and the Gael—Conclusions deduced from the evidence.

With the disappearance of the Dananns and the arrival in Ireland of their supplanters, the Milesians, we begin to approach the fringe of genuine history. For the so-called sons of Milesius, or Miled, of Spain are believed by Irish writers to be the progenitors of the Celtic people in Ireland who have figured throughout the heroic, the semi-historical, and the historical periods right down to the present day. It is also believed that the ancient Irish were identical with the Scots, some of whom, a band of colonists in ancient Alban, conquered and gave their name to the land of their adoption, which has since retained the name of Scotland. Further, it is believed that these sons of Milesius, or Hibernians, or Scots, took at some unknown period, or bore contemporaneously with their other names, the name of Gael; and that their descendants, alike in Ireland and Scotland, call themselves "the Gael" to this day. Let us see, if we can, how much truth there is in these assumptions, and endeavour, if possible, to wade our way through the mass of contradictions in which the subject is involved.

The legends and traditions—for both elements are present—concerning the Milesians have been frequently related by Irish historians. They are generally accepted as historical, the only question being the date at which legend becomes fact. Writers who relegate the Dananns to the realm of

myth, and who have their doubts about the Firbolgs, see in the Milesians the earliest Gaelic tribes who occupied Ireland. Tighernach, who wrote his Annals in the eleventh century, is commended for his scepticism in doubting the authenticity of all Irish records prior to the reign of Cimbaeth, about 300 B.C. They were *incerta*, and whether that meant that Tighernach was uncertain of their genuineness or merely of their chronology, the fact remains that, by sounding the note of doubt, Tighernach has acquired a reputation for critical acumen that may not be altogether deserved. The reign of Cimbaeth has thus come to be regarded by many Irish writers as the starting-point of authentic Irish history. We shall see later on whether there is any justification for that view.

The origin of the Milesians is described in the Irish texts with details which, on a cursory examination, are difficult to reconcile.

We find two tales of Irish origins, one relating to a mythical Nel or Niul, and the other to a no less mythical Gollamh or Miledh Espan (the Spanish *miles*).[1] These legendary persons serve as the vehicles for carrying Gaelic tradition down to the beginning of history. Both stories are composed of a jumble of fabulous elements, overlying the elements of genuine value. Niul and Miledh are both associated with Scythia; both become wanderers (but in inverse directions); and both marry Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt. Niul's descendants reach Gothland, whence they proceed to Spain, where Miledh was born. Miledh wanders from Spain to Scythia, whence he finds his way to the Island of Gothiana, and then back to Spain, plundering Albania (Scotland) on the way. The essential factor in the Nelian version is the parentage of Gadel, the eponym of the Gael. The father of Gadel is Niul, and the mother of Gadel is Scota.

[1] Cymric *Milwr*, warrior.

It would really seem that we have here, in the form of a parable, an historical fact. This legendary marriage appears to symbolise a union between two races, one personified by Niul, and the other by Scota. And just as Gadel was the fruit of the marriage with Scota, so the Gael were the fruit of the union between the Scots and another race.

Before I go further, I wish to examine, for the clearer illumination of the subject, the roots of the Nelian and Milesian stories. First of all, in their existing form, they are certainly post-Patrician in their origin. That is obvious from the introduction of the various Biblical incidents: the Tower of Babel, the dragging in of Pharaoh, Moses, and the Children of Israel, all of whom figure in the story. It is equally clear that additions and emendations have been made to the earlier forms of the legend. Hence the different Irish versions, and the Scottish version told in Ireland to Fordun, and preserved by him and Hector Boece in their Scottish histories. Fordun wrote in the fourteenth century, later by two hundred years than the earliest Irish manuscripts which contain the Milesian story, which was compiled from still earlier sources. The earliest manuscript and the simplest version of the legend are embodied in the history of the Britons ascribed to Nennius (supposed eighth or ninth century). There it is stated, from information supplied to the author by "the most learned of the Scots," that the Scots were descended from a "noble Scythian" who was banished from his native country and took refuge in Egypt, whence he was thrust out as an unwelcome stranger, and finally, after many wanderings, settled with his family in Spain. Here is no mention of any Scota, nor of a marriage with any daughter of Pharaoh.[2] The name "Scythian" is obviously equated with "Scot"; and a Scythian origin is given to the Scots. But even this version, though shorn of later extravagances, has Biblical elements which show

[2] Scota figures, however, in the *B*odleian fragment of Cormac's *Glossary*.

that it is not the original form of the legend. The only clear fact that emerges from the different versions is that they all represent a groping, more or less blind, after national origins.

To the inventors of these Irish stories, the etymology of the names "Gadel" (Gael) and "Scot" must have presented difficulties that proved insuperable. To this day, there is no settled derivation for either word. Of the two names, "Scot" is much the earlier; at any rate, I have not found the name "Gadel" in any work earlier than Cormac's *Glossary* (ninth or tenth century), unless the more than doubtful genuineness of St. Columba's poems (sixth century) and the Elegy ascribed to Dallan Forgaill, his contemporary, is admitted.

It has been shown that in the ninth century, the word "Scot" was equated with "Scythian," and that the legend about the Scots gave them a Scythian origin. It is a fact, also, that the Irish texts represent the Scots as "Scythian" tribes. But what country was meant by "Scythia"?

There is no vaguer geographical term in existence than "Scythia." By ancient writers, it was generally understood as the country north of the Euxine or Black Sea. In mediæval times (according to the period), the name was applied to Northern Europe—east or west of the Vistula. Scanza, or Scandia, the southern part of Sweden, was called "Old Scythia" in the seventh century, according to the Ravenna Geographer, who places "New Scythia" east of the Vistula.[3] It may be assumed as reasonable that those mediæval writers who mention "Scythia" as denoting a particular country, desire to convey by its use the contemporary meaning attached to the name. On that assumption, it will be instructive to see what country Nennius meant by Scythia. I select this author, not only

[3] *Cf.* also Adam of Bremen.

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were also believed to be descendants of Magog. On the other hand, the Cymric genealogists trace the Celts back to Gomer,[5] the eldest son of Japhet, this precedence over Magog, the second son, being due to the correct belief that the Celts were the earliest arrivals in Europe of the Celto-Germanic tribes.

Thus the Goths, the Scythians, and the Scots are made members of the same family by the mediæval genealogists. The Scots were believed to be Scythians, and we have the authority of Procopius for saying that in the sixth century, the Goths and the Scythians were believed to be the same people. A close examination of the facts of this anomalous position shows how history and ethnology alike may be falsified by a mistaken conception. The confusion between these peoples arose in the following way.

The centre of dispersion of the Indo-Germanic tribes is now believed to have been the Baltic coasts. This theory has now displaced the belief previously prevailing, that the original seat of those tribes was in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, the ancient Scythia in fact. To show how little we have progressed in these questions, notwithstanding the advance in the fields of archæology and philology, it need only be said that Teutonic tradition embodies both Baltic and Caucasian origins. The "Scythian" (Caucasian) tradition is much more prominent in mediæval writings, but the traditions of the Goths and the Lombards agree in placing their origin in Scandinavia. It is thus a remarkable coincidence in support of tradition, that the most recent and competent opinion argues on evidential grounds for Scandinavia as the earliest home of the Goths. In the time of Tacitus, the Goths (Gothones) are found east of the Vistula, but their real history commences with the formation of the Ostrogothic and Visigothic tribal leagues in the south of Europe. The East Goths settled on lands formerly

[5] Nennius makes Gomer the progenitor of the Gauls.

occupied by the peoples called "Scythians" by the ancient historians, while the West Goths settled in the country formerly occupied by the people called "Getae" by the same writers. Now the ancient Scythians were indubitably an Altaic race, and the ancient Getae were akin to the Thracians,[6] both peoples having a common language and common customs. There were few, if any, racial or linguistic affinities between the West Goths and the Getae, and there were none at all between the East Goths and the Scythians. Yet, owing to the circumstance that the West Goths settled on the lands of the ancient Getae, and the East Goths on the lands of the ancient Scythians, the West Goths were thereafter frequently called "Getae," and the East Goths were perhaps still more frequently called "Scythians." Hence, also, the genealogical distinction originally made between the two branches of the same family—the Scythians or Ostrogoths, and the Gothi (or Getae) or Visigoths. The name "Scythians," therefore, as used by mediæval writers, was comprehensively but mistakenly applied to all tribes of Gothic descent, and Scythia was known as that part of Europe occupied by Goths or their kindred. It may be conjectured that the spread of this name to the Baltic was due to the vast empire acquired by Eormanric, King of the East Goths in the fourth century; or it may be due to the prevalent belief that Odin, "the Scythian," founded colonies all over Germany during his progress from Scythia Magna to Scandinavia.

The persistent connexion between the Scots and Scythia which appears in the Irish traditions, and the Magogic origin attributed to the Irish, serve as links with the Teutonic genealogies which make Magog the progenitor of the Goths.

[6] Strabo says that "the Greeks considered the Getae to be Thracians," and Pliny states that the Romans called the Getae by the name of "Daci." The Danes were sometimes confused with the Dacians. The Getae appear to have been a mixed race, the main elements of the population being apparently Illyric and Celtic.

There is warrant, therefore, for thinking that we must look to a Teutonic source for the Milesian legend; or that it is a Celtic graft on a Teutonic stem. Clearly the main thesis of the story is to explain the origins of the names "Scot" and "Gael," but it really rests upon the supposed affinity between the Scots and the Scythians or Goths; and as Mr. Borlase points out, some of the names and incidents in the Irish accounts of the travels of the Gael are exactly the same as those related of the Langobardi in Paulus's *History of the Lombards*.[7] This cannot be a fortuitous circumstance. It is unthinkable that by a coincidence and nothing more, the same people and the same incidents should appear in the German and the Irish stories of origins; and the conclusion is irresistible that we have here a common story indicating a common stock.

I have thus sought to lead up to the conclusion I have formed that the so-called Milesian Scots (or supposed Scythians) belonged to the Teutonic branch of the Indo-European family, and that the name "Gael" was applied to a confederacy composed of these Scots and their Celtic predecessors in Ireland. Further, in view of the fact that the Gael must have necessarily preceded their Gaelic language, my theory is that the latter was gradually built up on a Cymric foundation after the Scots entered Ireland. The stem of Gaelic is unquestionably Celtic, but there are Teutonic grafts (with others) so pronounced as to give it a special character, differing in important respects from its sister tongue, the comparatively unmixed Cymric of the Welsh. These are fundamental questions, and the grounds of my conclusion must be stated with some fulness.

[7] Dolmens, p. 1069.

CHAPTER VII.

The Celts—The different types of Celt—The succession of races in Western Europe—The Celtæ and the Galli—A discussion of the names—The Belgæ—The two branches of the Celts—Where did the Gaelic language originate?

WHAT is a Celt? That would appear to be a simple question to answer; yet I know of few more difficult. Where are we to look for a precise and satisfying definition of a Celt? If we ask the anthropologist, we are shown a physical type of uncertain racial origin. If we turn to the philologist, we are told that the Celt represents a definite group in the Aryan family of languages. If we consult the historian, he sends us to Cæsar. History is indeed not silent about the Celt in Roman times; and place-names in Germany proclaim his dominance over Central Europe long before the Teutonic wave swamped him in its westward advance. We see him in the pages of history as by his military prowess he shakes the Roman Empire to its very foundations; and we see him still more clearly in the period of his decadence, as a devitalised unit of the same Empire, yielding sullenly to the pressure exerted by the barbarous but more vigorous German.

The type of Celt as described by the historians is that of a big, fair man, similar to the German. It is difficult, indeed, to discover any really fundamental difference between the physical characteristics of the two peoples. To the shorter and swarthier Romans, Celts and Germans alike were distinctively tall and fair races. But the Germans were the bigger and the ruddier of the two. Claudian writes of the "golden gleam" of the Gallic locks; but Caligula dyed red (doubtless with Gallic soap, which was a mixture of bears' fat and the ashes of beechen logs) the hair of captive Gauls

selected for their tallness. He wished to pass them off as German captives, and for that purpose required big men with red hair. But this example is partly balanced by allusions elsewhere to the remarkable size of the Celts. On the whole, it is difficult to regard the Celt and the German of the classical historians other than expressions of the same physical type, belonging to what Deniker has not inaptly called the Northern stock. This is a stock which has for its representatives to-day the tallest, fairest, and longest-headed races of Europe. It includes the Scandinavians, the Scots, and the Irish.[1]

Turning now to the Celt of the anthropologists, we find a type that has not the remotest physical kinship with Nordic characteristics. Anthropology has ignored history, and adopted a classification of its own. The Celt of Paul Broca —"the master" of modern anthropologists—is short, squat, swarthy, and brachycephalic, everything, in fact, that the Nordic Celt is not. Therefore, when we use the word "Celt," we must be clear which Celt we mean: the Celt of Broca or the Celt of Cæsar. Broca restricted his classification to the prevailing type in the *Celtica* of the historians, but the "Alpine" type of Ripley—the accepted label at the present day for the squat broadhead—has a wider range.

It is unfortunate that the adjective "Celtic" has ever been applied to this type, for it has caused unnecessary distraction. It is a purely arbitrary name, which would be harmless enough did it not enter the domain of the philologist and the historian, and come into needless conflict with them. Any of the other designations—Ligurian, Arvernian, or even Lapponic (as used alternatively by De Quatrefages)—would be preferable. Huxley's distinction between the fair Celt and the dark Celt has not

[1] It should be stated that the use of the name "Celtic," as applied to portions of the British Isles, their inhabitants and speech, is of modern growth.

disentangled the confusion, for the fundamental cause of the tangle is the employment of a word which lies outside the sphere of anthropology. It may be hoped that the acceptance at the present day of the label "Alpine," as denoting the sturdy broadheads, or of a similar description which does not trench upon other spheres, may lead in time to the total disuse of the words "Celt" and "Celtic" as type-labels. It is not difficult, however, to see how the discrepancy between the two types of Celt originated.

The succession of races in Western Europe is of necessity more or less a speculative question. But it is common ground that palæolithic man is represented by such low types as the Spy and the Neanderthal crania, while the ancient skulls recently discovered in England, and by some rashly hailed as supplying the "missing link," bring us a stage still further back in the history of man. The exact place in the scale of the Cro-Magnon type, which has been held to represent the sub-stratum of the present population of Western Europe, is undetermined. This type has, however, been identified with the tall, fair, long-headed Berbers, who in turn have been associated by Dr. Tubino with the Basques or ancient Iberians, and with the fair Libyans depicted on the Egyptian monuments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, B.C.[2] A further link in the chain is supplied by Von der Gabelenz, who connects the Basque language with the Berber.[3] The people who spoke these kindred tongues are associated with the megalithic monuments in North Africa, and in the west and north-west of the Iberian peninsula. With every show of reason, they may be considered as the true dolmen builders, and as such, their connexion with the British Isles deserves, perhaps, a closer scrutiny than it has hitherto received.

Whether these blonde longheads succeeded the palæolithic peoples, or represent the earliest wave of the northern tribes

[2] A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, pp. 376, 378.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

who afterwards dominated Europe, it seems to be well established that, during the neolithic age, the short, dark, broad-headed element was present in Europe long before the Indo-European tribes. These northern tribes were superimposed upon the broadheads, and with the short, brown longheads of the south—the Mediterranean type—placed Europe under a wave of dolichocephaly. In France, especially, the broadheads preponderated, and it has been estimated that towards the close of the neolithic age, the round or medium types in certain districts of that country were eight or ten times more numerous than the longheads.[4]

This consideration would appear to assist in harmonising the accounts of the historians with the classification of the anthropologists. Beyond doubt, the dark broadheads were dominated by the fair longheads, who were a military caste, and who appear to have imposed their language and their civilization upon the subject tribes. The language of the latter was probably Turanian (or, as it is now more commonly called, "Ural-Altaic") which would be gradually displaced by the superior Aryan tongue of their conquerors. The Romans came in contact, not with the servile broadheads, but with the dominating military class, who in Gaul, equally with the subject tribes, were comprehended in the name of "Celts," just as (strictly speaking) a Sydney merchant and a Queensland black are both included in the designation "Australians." I have heard of people who have been astonished to hear that there are blacks in Australia, and of others who were equally astonished, on meeting Australians, to find that their skins were white. The Roman writers would naturally describe the Celts as tall, fair men; while modern anthropologists, finding a short, broadheaded, dark people preponderating in the districts known to have been

[4] A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, p. 150. Dr. R. Cruel thought that the whole of Europe was occupied by Turanian peoples of Ural-Altaic speech before the arrival of the Aryans.

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The name G*alli* is as undetermined as that of *Celtae*, but the meaning which probably finds most favour is that of the "mighty" or "powerful" people (Cymric *Gallus*, powerful or mighty).[5] The Gauls are described as a vain-glorious nation, but it can hardly be supposed that they were so vain as to call themselves by so boastful a name; or, if they did, that the Romans, their conquerors, would admit their claim to it. I think that the derivation of the name must be sought elsewhere. If, like *Celtae*, it was topographical, it may be found in the Cymric G*âl*, a plain, or *Gwalas*, low land, and thus the Roman name may have been borrowed from a native source. The portion of Gaul in which Diodor places the *Galli* must have been of this description, for it was the Low Countries of modern times. On this hypothesis, therefore, the *Celtae* took their name from the dense forests of southern and middle Gaul, while the *Galli* took theirs from the low, marshy district of the northern seaboard. I do not forget that there were both Celts and Gauls other than those in Western Europe, but the origin of the names remains unaffected by that consideration.

It is impossible to dissociate the name G*alli* from the German *walh* or *wealh*, the origin of which is disputed. It is common ground that the word was first of all applied by the Germans to the Celtic tribes who were their neighbours, and it is sometimes derived from the tribal name Vo*lcae*,[6] who were the Celts of Central Europe. That is a derivation which does not carry conviction. It seems more probable that *walh* is simply *Gal* or *Gwal* in a Teutonic dress, for the Cymric initial "G" is repugnant to the Germanic tongue. Thus we find George Buchanan in the sixteenth century mentioning as a curious fact that the English people of his

[5] Pliny writes of the *Galli* as if the name meant "mad" or "furious;" and it is a curious commentary on this etymology that the Irish bards allude to "the angry *B*ritons" as a racial characteristic.

[6] The same tribe who, some writers think, gave their name to the Firbolgs.

day called Gallovidia (Galloway) "Wallowithia," and that the Gallic (French) language was called "Wallic" by the people on the borders of Germany. The Walloons of the low-lying lands (*gwalas*) of Flanders must have been among the first of the Celtic tribes to come in contact with the Germans as they pressed westwards; and from their Celtic name, signifying (on my hypothesis) the "Lowlanders," the Germans may have derived the *walh* which they applied subsequently to all the Gallic tribes, and ultimately to all foreigners or non-Germans.[7]

That the Anglo-Saxon *wealh* cannot have originally meant a foreigner, but a Gaul, or a person of Gallic origin is, I think, demonstrable. Anglo-Saxon arrogance could have hardly gone the length of giving the Britons, the natives of the country of which they took possession, a name signifying "foreigners." That, indeed, would be a supposition equalling in insularity the apocryphal story told of the Englishman in France, who was surprised to hear even the little children of "foreigners" speaking French. A proof of the association of *wealh* with Gaul and *Gwal* is found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, who tells us that after the Britons were overrun by the Angles, they were called "Gualenses, Welshmen." In "Gualenses" we have a Cymro-Latin form of the English "Welshmen," but in the later forms, the "G" is dropped, and the name appears frequently in Latin documents as "Walenses."[8] It would seem, therefore, that the *Wealisc* or Welsh got their name from the Anglo-Saxons as denoting their Gaulish origin.[9]

The old Walloons—the Celtic tribes of Belgic Gaul—were

[7] This root is frequently associated with the German *wallen*, to wander, but the association seems to indicate a confusion of ideas.

[8] North-west France, or ancient Gaul, is the Valland of the Norse Sagas, and Armorica is the Wealand of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

[9] In Roquefort's *Glossary* the terms Walons and Gualons are used indiscriminately. Wales is *le pays des Wallons*; and is explained as *Gallois qui est du pays de Galles*. *Galesche* is explained, *qui est du pays de Galles en Angleterre*.

subdued, and apparently partly expelled from their territories, and partly absorbed by the Germans whom Cæsar called the *Belgae*, a name satisfactorily explained, perhaps, by the Cymric *Belgws*, ravagers. The prevailing theory about the *Belgae* is that they were Celts, and many ingenious arguments have been advanced in support of that theory. It is difficult, however, to evade the force of Roman evidence to the contrary. The statement of Cæsar, who had first-hand knowledge of the *Belgae*, and said they were Germans, is to be believed in preference to the speculations of modern critics, who try to explain away Cæsar's words—if indeed they do not boldly assert that he was mistaken. There is, however, more to be said in favour of the evidence that the *Belgae* had dropped their German tongue, and adopted that of the Celts whom they had conquered. Thus some inquirers have come to the conclusion that the Belgic language resembled Gaelic rather than Cymric. That is quite a plausible conclusion, for wherever Teutonic and Cymric elements are mixed, the amalgam resembles Gaelic in its vocabulary, if not in its grammatical construction. The *Belgae* took possession of their territory in the south of England at a comparatively late date—probably much later than the last of the Celtic colonies from Gaul. There is no satisfactory evidence of their presence in Ireland.

I must here face a problem which fundamentally affects the question how the Gael found their way to Ireland. The belief is general that the Cymric branch and the Gaelic branch of the Celts, after their supposed separation from a common stem, and before they reached these islands, co-existed in a state of independence; and that the first wave of Celtic immigration to this country was Gaelic rather than Cymric. No evidence of the least weight has ever been offered in support of that theory. Unable to account otherwise for the fact that the remains of the Gaulish language which survive, are plainly identical in their essence with

modern Welsh, rather than with Gaelic, philologists have been driven to the assumption that the Gaelic form of Celtic was the language of those tribes who crossed the English Channel long before the ancestors of the Welsh people left their homes in Gaul.[10] Where these Gaelic tribes were located on the Continent no one can say. They might have dropped from the clouds, or emerged from subterranean dwellings, for all that is known about them. Sir John Rhys, it is true, has done all that learned ingenuity is capable of accomplishing, by identifying them with the *Celtae*, and by attributing a Gaelic origin to the characters inscribed on the bronze calendar found at Coligny, near Lyons, in 1897. But another eminent Celtic scholar, the late Dr. MacBain of Inverness, was equally convinced that the characters on the calendar are akin to Cymric; and Sir John Rhys himself was fain to confess that he could not explain how the *Celtae* reached Ireland.[11] There is, in fact, no satisfactory proof that the Gaelic language, as a distinct branch of Celtic, originated on the Continent. On the contrary, the proofs are cumulative that it was formed and partly developed in Ireland; and that its traces in England and Wales, and its introduction as a spoken language into Scotland and the Isle of Man, equally derive their source from the country of its origin, namely, Ireland. We must now return to the Irish legends, and see what light they throw upon this question.

[10] It need hardly be said that the Welsh, like their neighbours, are a mixed race. The short, dark element in the population of Wales is notably large. This type represents, in my opinion, the predecessors of the true Celts; it has certainly no affinity with the Gauls of the classical authors.

[11] *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1905), p. 63. "There is no record," said Huxley, "of Gaelic being spoken anywhere save in Ireland, Scotland, and the Isle of Man" (*Critiques and Addresses* (1873), p. 176). Kuno Meyer is still more positive. "No Gael," he says, "ever set foot on British soil save from a vessel that had put out from Ireland" (cited, with approval, by MacBain in his edition of Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, p. 383).

CHAPTER VIII.

The four stocks of the Gael—The Irish genealogies and their value—The historical aspect of the Milesian legend—Spain and the Milesians—The system of the *Dinnsenchus*—The different names applied to Ireland—An explanation of the Milesian names—The Basques or Vascones—A Basque element in the population of Ireland—The location of the Milesian tribes.

Irish tradition traces the descent of the Gael from four stocks, eponymised as Hiber (or Eber), Heremon (or Eiremon), and Ir, the three sons of Miledh; in other words, the three warrior peoples. The fourth eponym is Ith, who was a nephew of Miledh. All four stocks came from Spain. According to the legends, the first to arrive in Ireland was Ith, who was slain by the Dananns, whereupon the sons of Miledh avenged his death, and wrested the island from the Dananns. The three sons[1] then established the Milesian dynasty in Ireland, the south of the island falling to the share of Hiber, and the north to Heremon and Ir. A struggle for hegemony took place, resulting in the successive subjection of Hiber and Ir by Heremon, who became finally the undisputed master of the country.

Now, this story is sometimes treated as strict historical fact by Irish writers, who believe that Hiber, Heremon, Ir, and Ith were actual leaders of the Gael, and came over to Ireland from Spain in the manner described by the legend. If this belief is entertained in modern times, it is not surprising to find that the mediæval Irish bards and shanachies gave it full credence. Upon the genealogists—and the Celts have always revelled in genealogies—was imposed

[1] There were really six sons, but three of them do not survive in Irish legend.

the task of drawing up tables of descent from the four progenitors of the Gael, thus linking them with the principal Irish families, who were proud of being provided with so illustrious an ancestry. Nothing was easier than to fabricate these genealogies; but nothing is of less historical value. It is astonishing to find writers who laugh at the genealogies of (say) Geoffrey of Monmouth, gravely accepting the Irish fabrications as genuine, and regarding as real men, instead of bardic myths, the Milesian monarchs who reigned in Ireland centuries before writing could have been known in the island. If oral tradition is capable of carrying us so far with safety, why not still farther? Why stop at 300 B.C., or at 1300 B.C.? Why not, in short, accompany the genealogists right back to Adam?

It is impossible to place one's finger on the point in the Irish genealogies at which fiction ends and fact begins. If it is unscientific to reject them as wholly spurious, it is still more unscientific to base any sort of history upon them. That they are partly fictitious is obvious; that they are wholly fictitious is at least possible. Therefore, no space will be devoted in these pages to arguments founded upon their trustworthiness.

The Milesian legend, however, at once assumes an historical aspect when we clearly grasp the idea that we are dealing, not with persons but with peoples. The immigrations to Ireland were those of the Ithian people (or, as they are commonly called, the sons of Breogan), the Hiberian people, the Heremonian people, and the Irian people. Who were these people, and with whom are they identifiable?

First of all, it is necessary to examine the tradition that they came from Spain. It is barely conceivable that in Celtic tradition, the country named "Spain" may be a vague and variable name, like Grecia in actual history. Grecia was applied sometimes to the south of Italy (on rare occasions

to the whole of Italy), and to Russia, as well as to Greece itself.[2] It is improbable, however, that any country but the modern Spain was intended by the Irish story of the Milesians, for, as I shall show, the evidence of etymology confirms that supposition.

When the Milesian legend was invented (it is probably not so ancient as is generally supposed) to account for existing facts, it seems certain that it had, as its core, a tradition then existing of a Spanish descent for some of the inhabitants of Ireland. The most obvious fact for which an explanatory legend had to be found, to clothe this core with a suitable covering, was the name of the island itself. Now, for Ireland, there has been a plethora of names.[3] Those of the earliest appellations frequently appearing in the native texts are Eriu, Fodla, and Banba, which, in accordance with the usual system of Irish place-names, are represented in the legends as three Dananu Queens. The *Dinnsenchus*, a lost topographical tract, attributed to the sixth century, and fragments of which are incorporated in the Book of Leinster, the Book of Ballymote, and elsewhere, is full of these personifications of place-names, and its influence has been felt wherever Irish etymologies have been discussed. The result is that, while Irish place-names have been the means of providing us with poetic legends, their real meaning in many cases has been obscured by fable. The system of the *Dinnsenchus* has made Irish etymology stand on its head. The legends are made to explain the place-names, instead of the place-names explaining the legends. This process is not confined to Ireland; it flourishes vigorously wherever the Celt is to be found, and wherever legends are loved. Place-names refusing to yield their

[2] I have seen it argued that the Grecia of Irish tradition was located in Ireland. The tribes in Ireland called *Grecraighe* were probably "Heath" men, not Greeks (see chapter ii.).

[3] Quite a dozen can be enumerated.

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master.[5] Ir, the youngest of the three, is the eponym of Eriu or Erin, more clearly shown in the later names, Ir-land (for so it was frequently written) and Ireland. The name *Ir* seems to be closely related to that of *Ith*. The latter is the name given in the legend to Miledh's nephew, who, on account of the scarcity of corn, went from Spain to Ireland to spy the richness of the land. Now the word *Ith* (Cymric) means "corn," and the name of Miledh's nephew is at once explained by the nature of his errand. *Ir* (Cymric), on the other hand, means "luxuriant, or juicy, or green"; and the names *Ith* and *Ir* may be held to signify the division of the island into corn-land (*Ith*) and pasture-land (*Ir*). Ireland of old was famed for its pastures: according to Pomponius Mela (first century), the luxuriance of grass was so great as to cause the cattle to burst! Hence the tribes of Ir are associated with pasturage and the Ithians with agriculture, for the ultimate meanings of *Ir* and *Ith* are capable of that interpretation. Related to *Ir* is the Cymric *Irain* (full of juice, or luxuriance, or greenness), which closely resembles *Irin*, the name given by Diodorus Siculus to Ireland. This, then, may be the real source of the name Erin; it means, in effect, the Emerald Isle. It is usually argued that *Erin* is an oblique case of *Eriu;* but that is doubtful, for both forms appear in the nominative. Either way, the root remains unaffected.

To the Greek writers, Ireland was known as Ierne (variants Juberna, Juverna, and Iverna) of which Hibernia is the Latin form. In the Patrician manuscripts, the usual form is Hybernia, though in some, the forms Hyberia and Yberia appear,[6] thus showing clearly that Hibernia and Hiberia or

[5] This is probably the meaning of the name Armin, the celebrated leader of the Cheruscans at the commencement of the Christian era, and perhaps of Eormen-ric, the famous Ostrogothic Emperor of the fourth century. The word appears in Gaelic as *armunn*, a chief.

[6] See Haddan and Stubbs, p. 318.

Iberia are the same names. The Spanish Iberia takes its name from the dominant people of the peninsula, who lived in the valley of the river Ebro, anciently the Iber or Hiber.[7] Similarly the Irish Hibernia or Iberia takes its name from the Iberni (the Hiber of the legend), the dominant people of the island, who lived in the valley of the Ivernus or Ierne, now the river Maine in Kerry, or possibly the Kenmare. These people, and the river from which they took their name, both appear in Ptolemy's map of the second century. Here we have another instance of the arbitrary methods of anthropology, in labelling a particular type of cranium and pigmentation "Iberian." Like "Celtic," the word "Iberian" can be interpreted in one way by the anthropologist, and in quite a different way by the philologist or the historian. What, it may be asked, are the physical characteristics of the mixed people known to historians as the Celtiberians? And is the "Iberian" type to be regarded as implying the whole "Mediterranean" stock, the short, swarthy longheads; or as being synonymous with the Basques, who, according to competent observers,[8] are mainly neither short, nor swarthy, nor remarkably dolichocephalic? The Basques or Vascones—and here we have a link that almost certainly connects Ireland with Spain—must be the Irish Vascons or Bhascans, whose seat was the Sceligs or Scillies off Cape Bolus in Kerry.[9]

There are frequent references in the Irish texts to the Clan Baeiscne as an element in the Fianna, and Finn himself, the Fianna's chief, was believed by some to have derived his origin from the clan.[10] I find confirmation of the Irish texts in one of the Scottish collections of Ossianic remains,

[7] Cym. *Eb*, issuing out; *Ebru*, to pass out.

[8] See Wentworth Webster on *The Basque and the Kelt.*

[9] Betham, *The Gaul and Cymbri*, p. 241.

[10] Finn, son of Cumhall, son of Sualtach, son of Baeiscne (*Silva Gadelica* (Eng. text), p. 99).

in which the sons of Fingal are described as "children of Baoisge."[11] Indirect corroboration of the connexion is furnished by other facts. The Basques are a fine, athletic people, with a wonderfully upright carriage, due, apparently, to an unusually strong posterior base of the skull. They are exceedingly fond of athletic games, in which they display remarkable skill and strength. They have a dance like the Highland Fling, and an agglutinative language which "the devil studied for seven years without learning more than three words."

That there is a Basque element in the Irish population seems, on the whole, to be highly probable. But it would be unsafe, with our imperfect knowledge of the Basque language, to assume from fancied resemblances, the presence of Basque roots in the Gaelic language, or in the Irish or Scottish place-names. The root *ur* in river-names is frequently quoted as derived from the Basque *ura*, water, but, as we shall see, it comes more probably from an Aryan source. On the other hand, it would be still more risky to assert that Basque elements are entirely lacking in the language and the topography of the Gael. The question is at present not resolvable with certainty one way or the other. One thing, however, is certain: that the prognathism of Ireland does not come from the Basques, one of whose distinguishing characteristics is extreme orthognathism. To sum up: it is clear enough that the authors of the Milesian legend, as already suggested, had a definite traditional basis for assuming a pre-historic connexion between Spain and Ireland, which they adapted to their story of the Gael.

That connexion, and the mode of using it in the legend, are clearly shown by the way in which the authors accounted for the Brigantes, a tribe located by Ptolemy's map in the south-east of Ireland. Orosius (fourth or fifth century) mentions Brigantium as a place near Corunna, on an island

[11] M'Callum, p. 151. Baoisge = Biscay (Vasconia).

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CHAPTER IX.

The Iberians in Ireland—The origin of the Scots—A summary of conclusions as to the origin of the Gael—The earliest notices of Ireland by classical authors—Ireland in the second century A.D.—Early Teutonic settlements in Ireland—The earliest mention of the Scots—The Scottish hegemony in Ireland—Tacitus and Ireland—The Cherusci and the Scots.

WHETHER or not the dim figures which appear in the Irish accounts of the earliest colonies of the island, are intended to represent the neolithic tribes, including the dolmen builders, the existence of these elements in the ethnology of Ireland is amply proved by the facts of archæology. There is no certain evidence of palæolithic man in the island, but neolithic man is well represented at the present day by the short, swarthy longheads, who are to be found in abundance in the west and south-west. These are the so-called "Iberians," an unfortunate name to adopt, unless its meaning is well understood. The type is that of the Silures of Tacitus, the swarthy people of South Wales, who may have had a Spanish origin, as implied by the Roman historian.[1]

The succession of metal-using men who came after the neolithic age is too ill-defined to permit of dogmatic assertion, but the Irish texts clearly suggest the concurrent

[1] Miss Bryant, in her *Celtic Ireland* (p. 17), quotes Colmenar, a Spanish author, who states that "history informs us" that in 200 B.C. the Biscayans took possession of Ireland, having crossed the sea in "vessels made of the trunks of trees hollowed and covered with leather." The Bay must have been abnormally smooth! And Camden (Ed. 1695, p. 574) quotes another Spanish author, Florianus del Campo, who finds the Silures in Spain. Conceivably there may have been Silures on the River Sil, in north-west Spain; hence, probably, the tribal name (*Sil*, in combination with the Basque *ura*, water).

use of stone and bronze; and there can be little doubt that the displacement of bronze by iron was similarly gradual. Coming to historic times, it is of more immediate interest, as bearing upon our subject, that Borlase points out that many objects in the Museum of Art of the Royal Irish Academy are comparable with those of the Merovingian period from the fifth to the eighth century.[2] And these are the objects that pertain to the Gael.

This brings us to the question: who were the Gael? But before I answer that question, it is necessary to look more closely into the origin of the Scots. I have shown the probable grounds on which the Milesian legend is based, and have given reasons for supposing that the tradition of a pre-Gaelic immigration to Ireland from Spain is far from being without a solid foundation. I have shown, also, that the wanderings of the mythical progenitors of the Gael, prior to their supposed settlement in Spain, relate to the Scythians, who are equated with the Scots. A Scythic association with Spain is suggested by the fact that there was a Cantabrian promontory called *Scythicum*. All that can be said with certainty about these Scythians is, that they were Teutonic tribes who came from that part of Northern Europe known in mediæval times as Scythia. That there were Teutonic invasions of Spain before the settlements of the Vandals, Alani, and Suevi, early in the fifth century, is shown by the irruptions of the Cimbri early in the second, and of the Franks in the third century. And there is some ground for believing that there were Teutons in Spain in the first century, and perhaps even earlier. According to Pliny, the Oretani of Spain were Germans, and Seneca, himself a Spaniard, alludes to the Germans having crossed the Pyrenees. If, therefore, it can be shown that the Scots were a Teutonic people, there is nothing inherently improbable, though there is no actual proof, in

[2] *Dolmens*, pp. 1065-6.

the supposition that they may have passed over from Spain to Ireland.[3] But there is not a shred of evidence to suggest that the Celtic tribes in Ireland, included (as we shall see) in the Gael, entered Ireland as a colony from Spain. On the contrary, all the facts are opposed to any such hypothesis.

My position is (1) that before the Gael as a national name came into existence, the dominant people in Ireland were immigrants from Britain, speaking the same language (Cymric) as the Britons; (2) that at some unknown period, apparently between the commencement of the Christian era and the fourth century, Teutonic tribes who may have first come as raiders, and then as settlers, added an important element, probably in a gradually increasing volume, to the population; (3) that these Teutonic tribes in combination appear in history for the first time, in the fourth century, under the name of "Scots"; (4) that a struggle took place between the Celts and the Teutons for the hegemony of Ireland; and (5) finally, that the two races coalesced and formed the Gael; the Teutons, who were without women, marrying Celtic wives and adopting the Celtic language, while adding Teutonic elements which, in combination with the main Celtic fabric, brought into being the branch of the Celtic language known as Gaelic, or the language of the Gael.[4]

It will be seen that this theory of the origin of the Gael is in sharp conflict with the prevailing notions on the subject. Adequate proof will be required, or at any rate reasonable

[3] The Teutonic vessels were not "hollow trunks covered with leather," nor were they wickerwood covered with ox-hides.

[4] This theory does not, of course, exclude other elements from Gaelic: it merely states the main elements. The Irish traditions themselves suggest an abnormal mixture of elements, by the statement that Gaelic was formed from the seventy-two languages of the world (*Senchus Mór*); and Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, seems to have had a similar idea when he said that the Irish language is, "as it were, a compound of all other languages."

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may be fairly regarded as native, and those in the second class as foreign. In the latter class are two that are at once recognisable as foreign tribes, viz., the Cauci and the Manapii or Menapii.[6] The Cauci (or Chauci, as the name is more frequently written) were a tribe concerning whom Tacitus tells us that they were "the noblest of the Germans"; an unprovocative people; not given to rapine or plunder; yet possessing a military reputation that protected them against aggression. Pliny gives a different description of them; he says that the maritime Chauci were a proud, but poverty-stricken collection of miserable fishermen. About the end of the first century, the Chauci were settled on the coast, from the Ems to the Elbe, adjoining on the west the lands of the Frisians, by whom they were ultimately absorbed. It is a remarkable fact that about 162 A.D. (approximately the date of Ptolemy's map), the Chauci are known to have appeared in the Northern Ocean as pirates, and to have devastated the coasts of Gaul and Britain.[7] Therefore, if Tacitus was correct, their character must have changed in two generations. At any rate, the Chaucian raids show that the Teutonic tribes were not strangers to Britain about the middle of the second century; and it seems certain that if they knew Britain well, they must have known Ireland equally well. A fertile and rich country, relatively speaking, as all reliable accounts represent it to have been, Ireland must have attracted the attention of the Teutonic rovers before the second century.

It is usual to regard the first Teutonic and piratical descents on Ireland as having occurred at the end of the eighth century. Nothing could be more remote from probability. The Scandinavian forays in Ireland, which commenced late in the eighth, and were continued with in-

[6] Their association with the Menapian or Menavian island (Man) is doubtful.

[7] Menzel, *History of Germany*, i., p. 105.

creasing frequency and ferocity in the ninth and later centuries, present merely a later phase of the Teutonic danger. Centuries before, Ireland had felt the weight of the Teutonic hand. The bands of wandering warriors from the Rhine to the Elbe, and the hardy Vikings from Scandinavia (the home of the best type of seaman) who came to Ireland as robbers, sometimes remained as settlers. Evidence is not lacking to show that the pressure of rival tribes, and perhaps even more frequently the operation of economic causes, such as famine,[8] instigated the piratical raids of the Teutonic tribes more powerfully than the mere love of adventure, or even the innate greed for plunder. The fat pasture-lands of Erin offered a tempting asylum to these hungry hordes, and it may be that the dark-eyed "Iberian" women and the golden-tressed Celtic maidens were not without an attractive force. These Teutons beheld the land, and found it a land flowing with milk and honey; a land where the cattle "burst" with the luxuriance of the pastures (Mela); and where fair women were perhaps not unwilling to accept as husbands the redoubtable wanderers from the waste of waters. What wonder, therefore, that we find Teutonic settlers in Ireland in the second century?

The Menapii may have emigrated from the Rhine about the same time as the Chauci left their German home. It is sometimes stated that the Continental Menapii were a Celtic tribe, but those who contend that they were Germans, like the Chauci, seem to me to have all the best of the argument. These two tribes were situated in Leinster.[9] I believe that they may be regarded as forming the nucleus of the union of Teutonic tribes who were afterwards called the Scots.

To those who say that the Scots were the original Gaelic

[8] Bosworth, *The Origin of English, Germanic, and Scandinavian Languages and Nations* (note by J. H. Halbertsma, p. 53).

[9] The Blani or *Eblani* were in the same district, and it has been suggested by at least one writer that they were from the Elbe (Elbani).

(and Celtic) inhabitants of Ireland, and that they were there before the commencement of written history, there is a conclusive answer: the name "Scots" does not appear on Ptolemy's map. If there were Scots in Ireland in the second century, it is inconceivable that the name should have been utterly unknown to Ptolemy. It is still more inconceivable that if there were Scots in Ireland centuries before the Christian era, as some writers seem to suppose, no contemporary writers before the fourth century should have any knowledge of the name. For it is the fact that the first contemporary (Ammian Marcellin) allusion to the Scots occurs about the year 364.

The inference, therefore, is unavoidable that the Scots were not the dominant people in Ireland until about the fourth century, and that their hegemony of the island cannot have been of very long duration before that date, otherwise their presence could hardly have escaped the notice of contemporaries. When the Scots first appear in history, it is in the Teutonic character of a fierce, restless, marauding people, who crossed from Ireland to Britain for plunder, and fled thither when pursued. It is especially noticeable that before the name "Scot" meets us, Ireland gave no trouble to its bigger neighbour. The inhabitants, indeed, had acquired such a reputation for peaceful tractableness, that Agricola (so Tacitus says) believed that a single legion and a few auxiliaries would be sufficient to conquer and keep them in subjection. It is quite certain that if a people like the Scots had ruled Ireland in Roman times, no such conception of them could have been possible to Agricola. It cannot be objected that he had no first-hand knowledge of the island, for he had his facts from a petty Irish king, who had been expelled from his country. It is unfortunate that Tacitus has told us nothing about this king: what language he spoke, and what information, other than military, he gave to Agricola. We may perhaps infer from the silence of

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the eleventh century, it is stated that the Chorischii (who are brought from Greece) took possession of a part of Ireland, whence they passed over to Scotland, to which country they gave the name of "Scotia" after the wife of a certain son of Æneas the Lacedæmonian, called Nelus or Niulus, who married an Egyptian wife named Scota. Here we have the old legend in a new dress. I have a suspicion that this story may point to an immigration of the Cherusci to Ireland (which might explain the name Armun (lord) or Heremon in the Milesian legend) and their subsequent inclusion in the Scottic peoples.

That other Teutonic tribes arrived in Ireland after the Chauci and Menapii, there cannot, in my opinion, be the least doubt. These tribes were in a constant state of flux during the early centuries of the Christian era; and it can hardly be supposed that so tempting a country as Ireland would be overlooked. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Scots, who were sufficiently powerful to impose the name of Scotia upon Ireland as early as the beginning of the seventh century, and probably earlier, were a numerically strong combination, and included all the Teutons in Ireland, with the exception of those who were called in Irish tradition the Irians, in Irish history the Cruithne, and by modern writers, the Irish Picts.[12]

[12] Welsh tradition offers striking corroboration of the statements in the foregoing pages on early settlements of Scandinavians in Ireland. According to the Iola MSS., a Scandinavian king named Don came from Lochlyn and conquered Ireland. In 267 A.D. he led a mixed force of Scandinavians and Irish to Gwynedd in North Wales. Don's son, Gwydion, we are told, was "highly celebrated for knowledge and science," and he was the first to teach the Welsh "the plays of illusion and phantasm." Here we have the Danann characteristics clearly suggested.

In a Welsh genealogy, Serigi, a descendant of Don, is called a *Gwyddelian* (Gael), and his people are called *Gwyddel Ffichti*, or Gaelic Picts. The true meaning of *Gael*, *Goidel*, or *Gwyddel* (a Cymric form of a non-Celtic name), will be shown in a later chapter.

CHAPTER X.

Various hypotheses concerning the name "Scot"—Isidore's blunder—Geoffrey of Monmouth and his value as an historian—The Hibernians and the Scots—An analysis of the name "Scot"—St. Patrick's distinction between the Scots and the Hibernians—Ireland indifferently named Scotia and Hibernia—The *Ard-righ* of Tara—Ireland's Heroic Age—A dissertation on hair—Irish kings with Teutonic names—The Franks in the British Isles—The kilt as a Gothic dress.

The name "Scot" has yielded an abundant crop of etymologies, some ingenious, others ingenuous, all provisional. I have laid stress upon the obvious equation by mediæval writers of Scot with "Scyth," and have shown, too, how "Scythian," as a distinctive name, was associated in the Middle Ages with the Goths. Sometimes the Gothic tribes, especially the Ostrogoths, were called Scythians; sometimes the whole Teutonic race (including of course the Scandinavians) seem to be embraced in the name; but always the Scots. That fact of itself supplies an argument for the Teutonic origin of the Scots, but I do not wish to emphasise it. I believe that in its primary sense, the name "Scot" does not mean Scythian, though both words may have a common root.

Gibbon thought that "Scot" meant "wanderer";[1] Dr. Macpherson "boat-man," or a word with a similar signification; and Whitley Stokes gives it the meaning of "owner" or "master" (*skot*, property).

The most curious etymology that I know of is that which equates the name with *Picti*, the painted or tattooed men. By associating the word "Scot" with the Welsh *ysgythru*, Gaelic *sgath*, and O. Irish *scothaim* ("lop off" or "cut"), a

[1] Scots have always been wanderers, from the first time they appear in history down to the present day.

strained interpretation is obtained, in order to fit in with the statement of Isidore of Seville that in their own language the Scots are so called from their painted bodies.[2] It is a fact that what Isidore says about the Scots in this statement is precisely the same as what the Pictish Chronicle says about the Picts. Both statements are obviously copied from the same source, or one is copied from the other. Isidore lived in the seventh century, and the Pictish Chronicle is clearly of a much later date. Therefore, the conclusion is unavoidable that the compiler of the Pictish Chronicle copied his statement from Isidore, correcting his palpable blunder by substituting "Picts" for "Scots"; or that both statements were copied—in Isidore's case incorrectly, and in the other case accurately—from some manuscript of a date not later, and possibly earlier than, the seventh century. There is still another alternative. The mistake in Isidore may be that of an ignorant transcriber. Whatever the explanation, it is evident, from the sense of the context, that in Isidore's statement the word "Scots" is erroneously written for "Picts." This, indeed, is apparent from Isidore's own description of the Picts, which repeats in effect, though not literally, what he says about the Scots.

Yet it is on this palpable confusion of name by Isidore, that eminent philologists found their equation of "Scot" with the Latin meaning of "Pict." From one point of view, it is not surprising that a writer of the seventh century should confuse the two peoples, or even identify them with one another, for, as indirect testimony shows, their racial affinities were pronounced. Geoffrey of Monmouth asserts that the Scots were the offspring of the Picts and the Irish. It is usual to scoff at evidence taken from so uncritical an historian, but that attitude can easily be too rigid, for there

[2] Sir John Rhys was probably the first to suggest this etymology (*Celtic Britain*, 1884, pp. 240-41), and he has been followed by Dr. MacBain (Skene's *Highlanders*, edition 1902, p. 385).

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It would appear, therefore, that the meaning of the name "Scot" is missile-man, and especially dart-man. The name thus falls within the same category as Angles (*Angel*, a sharp-pointed hook); Saxons (*Seax* or *Sax*, a knife or short sword); Franks (*Franca*, a javelin);[4] and Lombards or Longbardi (*Bart* or *Barda*, a broad axe). This classification may be called the etymology of the characteristic weapon. Of all the derivations just given, none is more convincing than the equation of "Scot" with "dart-man." There is proof of the dart being the characteristic weapon of the Scots. Personifying Britannia in one of his eulogies of the Roman General, Stilicho (himself a Goth), Claudian says that she (Britannia), thanks to her deliverer, fears not Scottish darts (*tela*). If this allusion means anything at all, it means that the dart was the weapon specially associated with the Scots.[5]

The Scots were, therefore, a people with a Teutonic name, and with characteristics which can only be explained by attributing to them a Teutonic origin. We have caught a glimpse of some of the German tribes that appear to have been included in the Scottic combination; and I shall give evidence to show that the language they spoke was probably akin to Platt-Deutsch or Low German. In the meantime, the distinction between the Teutonic Scots of Ireland and the Celtic Hibernians of Ireland must again be emphasised. There is no evidence on this question equal in value to the testimony of St. Patrick; and St. Patrick carefully discriminated between the Scottish *reguli*, the ruling caste in

[4] The usual derivation, "free-men," is not convincing, for were not the other German tribes quite as "free" as the Franks?

Whether the other etymologies are well-founded or not, the word "Saxon" is almost certainly derived from *Seax* or *Sax*.

[5] The German infantry in the time of Tacitus, as he plainly testifies, were skilled in the use of missile weapons. The youth about to assume arms, says the same historian, was equipped with a shield and javelin. The contemporary account of the battle of Clontarf (see Todd's *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*) states that the Gael had "darts with silken strings, thick set with shining nails, to be violently cast" at the enemy.

Ireland, and the Hibernians, the mass of the people.[6] And Giraldus Cambrensis (twelfth century) makes a notably clear statement on this matter when he tells us that the *Scotti* and *Hibernenses* had a general name which comprehended both, viz.: *Gattheli* or Gael.

Thus we see that the two different peoples, the Hibernians and the Scots had become fused into what may be fairly described as a nation, and that the national name was "Gael." This fusion must have been preceded by a long and fierce struggle for hegemony. The fight for the mastery is typified by the accounts in the Milesian legend of the varying fortunes of Eber, Ith, Ir, and Heremon. First the mixed tribes in the south and south-west, comprising the Iberni and the Brigantes (Eber and Ith) and others; and then the Scandinavian and other tribes in the north (Ir) and north-west, fell under the domination of the people of Low German extraction, whose centre of settlement was in Leinster (Heremon), but who must have exercised supremacy over a much wider area. These people were the Scots of history. Their predominance among the Gael is shown by the fact that by the seventh century, the whole of Ireland was called indifferently by the names "Scotia"[7] and "Hibernia"; and the name "Scot" was understood by foreigners as an inhabitant of Ireland.[8]

The Ard-righ or High King of Ireland, whose seat was at Teamrah or Tara, in Meath, was chosen now from one of the four groups of free peoples who composed the Gael, and now from another. The High Kingship was vested in the royal family of whatever group happened to be the most powerful; and it was thus a symbol of hegemony. All Irish traditions

[6] *Confession*, and *Letter to Coroticus* (both considered genuine). See Haddan & Stubbs, ii., pp. 308 and 317.

[7] The earliest known use of the word Scotland as a name for Ireland is by St. Laurence, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the beginning of the seventh century (Bede, *B.* ii., c. 4).

[8] Bede gives the general name of "Scots" to the Irish.

agree in assigning to the descendants of Heremon (the Scots), a position of supremacy in the island, which gave them an undisputed right to the throne of Tara. Thus they are in substantial accord with the testimony of St. Patrick, in the distinction he draws between the Scottish *reguli* and the Hibernians.

In the Irish texts dealing with the early centuries of the Christian era—Ireland's Heroic Age—there are glimpses given, not only of the structure of society, but of the physical appearance of the Gaelic warriors. These descriptions no doubt faithfully reflect the traditional notions about these warriors, and in substance they may not be inaccurate. The simpler the description, the earlier the source. The later compilers and redactors in Ireland may be easily recognised by their profusion of adjectives. They had to cover the barrenness of their knowledge with the flowers of their rhetoric; and they were all accomplished rhetoricians. Then, as now, a multiplicity of adjectives accompanied a paucity of ideas; but the earlier pictures of the Gael are not disfigured by the excess of colour that characterises the decadent period. On reading these Irish accounts, one is struck by what would seem to be the great importance attached to the hair, the two most desirable qualities being length and fairness.

An essay on the hair and its significance, from an historical and ethnological standpoint, would have to take account of two tribal groups in ancient Germany, the Suevi and the Franks. Tacitus, in his characteristically terse manner, marks off the Suevi from the rest of the Germans by their mode of dressing the hair. Among the Franks, long hair was the sign of a free man.[9] And Tacitus assures us that ruddy hair was a German characteristic. As a contrast to the freemen, the slaves in ancient Germany wore cropped hair, or their heads were completely shaven.

[9] Latham's *Germany of Tacitus*, p. 109.

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applicability of such names to those who in adopting them wished, in Christian times, to crave the protection of their patron saints, though the custom has a pagan origin.

A tentative suggestion is, that the tonsure itself may be remotely associated with this idea of servitude and humility. At any rate, the usual explanation that it originally symbolised the Crown of Thorns placed on the Head of the Divine Master, is not satisfying, inasmuch as it suggests what is not a fact, viz., the Christian origin of tonsures. The Hibernian tonsure was not even a crown—it was a half-crown. The head was shaven from ear to ear, making the tonsure semi-circular or crescent-shaped, and with the fringe which was allowed to remain in front, faintly suggesting, it may be, the tracing of an axe-head. Mr. Ua Clerigh thinks that this may be the explanation of St. Patrick's clerics being called *Tailceanns* or Axe-Heads (usually but less correctly translated "Adze-Heads") by the ethnic Irish; and it seems plausible enough.[12] In any case, there is nothing inherently improbable in the suggestion that the tonsure of an Irish monk may have originally been the badge of *servus Dei*.[13]

All this may appear discursive, but it has a bearing upon the point I wish to establish, viz., the existence of parallel customs among the ancient Germans and the ancient Irish, which cannot certainly be traced, at any rate with the same distinctness, to other peoples. The inference is obvious. It serves to accentuate the evidence from other sources, of a

[12] *History of Ireland to the Coming of Henry II.*, p. 209. See Bede on the Hibernian tonsure, or, as it was contemptuously called by the Petrine tonsurists, the tonsure of Simon Magus. There was a third (Eastern) tonsure, viz., that of St. Paul, which involved the shaving of the whole of the head.

[13] The origin of "Culdee" is, I think, *Chiel*, *Gil*, or *Cil-De* = God's servant. The Latin form of the name was *Keledei*. In the Irish form, *Ceile De*, we have the same word (*ceile*) as is applied in the ancient laws of Ireland to the dependants (servants) of the *Grad Flaith* or chiefs.

Teutonic occupation of Ireland before authentic Irish history commenced to be written. The very first Irish King whom we meet in the earliest epoch of Irish history, of which the records can be regarded as trustworthy, had a Francic name, for Leoghaire (now Leary) who was the heathen Ard-Righ, when St. Patrick landed in Ireland, had the same name as the Merovingian Lothaire. Suibone or Suibne (now Sweeny) a Pictish name that is frequently seen in the Irish annals, denotes Swedish lineage (the Swens or Suiones as Tacitus calls them); Amalgaidh, a name that appears in the list of Irish kings, is Gothic and distinguished, for the Amalings were the royal family of the Ostrogoths, as were the Baltings of the Visigoths.[14]

Where did these Franks and Swedes and Goths come from, and when did they reach Ireland, assuming their presence there? No one can say with certainty, but that the Franks showed marked restlessness during the third century can be easily shown.

Soon after the middle of that century, they ravaged Spain incessantly, especially the north and east coasts. They made more than one descent on Africa. They were so troublesome that Probus, about 277, caused several thousands of them to be transported to the borders of the Black Sea. But he could not repress them, nor induce them to settle down as peaceful colonists. They seized a fleet which lay at anchor in the Black Sea, sailed to the Archipelago, plundered the wealthy maritime cities, and landed in Sicily, where they took Syracuse. They fought the Romans below the walls of

[14] *Amal* is a Gothic word, meaning "mighty." Aedh and Aidan, names that are specially associated with the Scots, suggest the Anglo-Saxon *Ead* (Gothic *Aud*), "prosperity" (*cf.* Edwin). The Fenian names Oisin and Oscar seem to contain the Teutonic *Os*, demigod. Oscar is purely Teutonic. *Os* is generally associated with the royal (god-born) race of Northumberland (Kemble). Diarmid, also, has apparently the Teutonic prefix *Diora* or *Diura* (Old German) found in compound names (*carus*). Aidan is found as the name of an Anglo-Saxon bishop in an Anglo-Saxon poem of the tenth century.

Carthage, and, being defeated, retreated to their ships, sailed through the Mediterranean, and, coasting Spain and Gaul, returned laden with wealth to their own country.[15] It was partly by means of Franks, too, that Carausius established his power in Britain; and when his assassin and successor, Allectus, was himself defeated and slain in a battle fought with the army of Constantine Chlorus in 296, the hordes of plundering foreigners who were chased out of Britain were composed mainly of Franks.[16]

Is it reasonable to suppose that a country like Ireland, endowed with a fertile soil, and enriched with mines of gold, would escape complete immunity from the visits of these rovers; or that so attractive a resting-place would fail to induce many of them to become permanent settlers in an island unprotected by the strong arm of the Roman, and already affording an asylum to their kinsmen from the Frisian coast? There was a proverb that said: "Choose the Frank for a friend but not for a neighbour." Conceivably, the native tribes in Ireland realised its truth in the third century, if the Catti, Cauci, Cherusci, and the other members of the confederacy called the Franks, became members of the Irish confederacy known as the Gael.[17]

[15] Menzel's *History of Germany*, i., p. 113 (see Zosimus and Eumenicus).

[16] Latham, *Ethnology of the British Islands*, pp. 96-7. The Franks "sacked London." Bede says that in the time of Carausius, the sea-coasts were "infested by the Franks and Saxons" (B. i., c. 6).

[17] The following note has a bearing upon the question of Gothic settlements in Ireland. Camden, quoting Sidonius, describes the apparel of the ancient Goths in these words (trans. 1695, pp. cxvii.-viii.):—

"They shine," says he (*i.e.*, Sidonius), "with yellow; they cover their feet as high as the ancle with hairy untann'd leather; their knees, legs, and calfs are all bare. Their garment is high, close, and of sundry colours, hardly reaching down to their knees. Their sleeves only cover the upper parts of their arms. Their inner coat is green and edged with red fringe. Their belts hang down from the shoulder. The lappets of their ears are cover'd with locks of hair hanging over them. . . . Their arms are hooked spears (which Gildas terms *uncinata tela*) and hatchets

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CHAPTER XI.

The Gael—The silence of early writers on the name—Bede's evidence on the root *dal*—An analysis of the name "Gael"—The Brehon Laws and Teutonic parallels—Cuchullin: man or myth?—The Finn Saga and its historical basis—The Fianna as professional champions—Scandinavian parallels—The dominant races described by the *Senchus Mór*—The meanings of the provincial names.

For a satisfying etymology of the word "Gael" (or "Goidel" as it is now usually spelt by philologists), one may search in vain. It seems to be regarded as a fact to be accepted, but not to be explained; a name to be gloried in but not to be analysed. With a Celtic probe no analysis is possible: there is no root, either in Cymric or Gaelic, to which the most imaginative etymologist can point as the source of the word. Dr. MacBain, an acknowledged authority on the Gaelic language, thought that the earliest form of the word must have been *Gâdilas* or *Gaidelas* from a root *gâd* (English "good"), but the suggestion does not carry us very far. He was compelled to look to a Teutonic source for the root; but it eluded him notwithstanding.

There is no hint of the word in the Patrician documents, from which fact it may be assumed that St. Patrick had no knowledge of it as a national designation. In the poetry attributed to St. Columba, the name is found ("Farewell to Erin"), and it appears also in the *Amra* or Elegy on Columcille (St. Columba), ascribed to the saint's contemporary, Dallan Forgaill. The authenticity of these poems has been strongly questioned, and it is not a little curious in corroboration of this criticism, that Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, an admittedly genuine work, should contain not a single allusion which would lead us to believe that the

name Gael was applied in his time (seventh century) to the people of Ireland, or any section of the people. Adamnan, himself an Irish monk, had an intimate knowledge of Irish affairs; and it is incredible that the word would have escaped him had it been adopted as a national name. His *Life* is full of allusions to the "Scots" and the "Hibernians" of Ireland, and to the Scottic language and the Hibernian language (in his day they were synonyms); but there is not a word to show that he had ever heard either of the Gael or the Gaelic language.

If native writers of the seventh century say nothing about the Gael, it would seem hopeless to look to other sources for the name. Neither in Gildas (supposed sixth century) nor in Nennius (supposed eighth or ninth century), both Cymric writers, nor in Bede (seventh century), an Anglo-Saxon historian, does the word appear. Yet in Bede there is a word which, I am convinced, is the root for which we have been searching: it is the word *dal*. When relating the settlement of the Dalreudini, an Irish tribe, in Dalriada (Argyllshire) Bede explains the name by saying that it meant the share of portion of Reuda, "for in the language of the Scots (Irish), *dal* means a part." [1]

This statement by Bede has a double significance: it gives us the meaning of the word Gael, and it suggests the architectural method by which the Gaelic language was built up, as well as indicating one of the sources of the material employed.

Taking the second point first, we find the word used in the nominative case, as well as in oblique forms, by the invaluable Cormac. Thus we know at least what it was like in the ninth (or tenth) century. We find it in the nominative plural as *Gædel*, and in oblique forms as *Gáidel* and *Gædelu*. These are substantially the forms employed

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, B. i., c. 1.

by all the early writers in Ireland [2] who mention the name, except that there is a tendency to convert what was apparently the earlier prefixial *gæ* into *goe* or *goi*, thus making the form *Goidel*, as it is frequently written at the present day. The popular form "Gael" preserves the earlier "a" and sheds the "d," owing to its quiescence in pronunciation, *Gædel* thus becoming Gäel (as it was formerly spelt) or "Gael," as at the present day, when we are in too much of a hurry to use the diaresis.

But how, it may be asked, is *Gædel* to be connected with Bede's *dal*, "which in the language of the Scots means a share"? The answer is that it is the same word, with a Teutonic prefix (*gae* or *ge*), corresponding to the Latin *con*, and signifying collectiveness.

The earliest mention of the word in a Teutonic language appears in Ulphilas, i.e., in the translation into Gothic by Bishop Ulphilas in the fourth century, of a portion of the Gospels. This translation is preserved in the Silver Book, now in the University of Upsal, and numerous editions exist. I find that Ulphila's Gothic word for co-partner is *Ga-daila*. I find that in Anglo-Saxon *Ge-dâl* means a division, or parting, or distribution (*ge-dáelan*, to divide or share), and that *Gedâl-land* means land belonging to several proprietors.

This is simply Bede's *dal*, a share, with the usual prefix "*ge*" (Latin *con*). It is evident, therefore, that the meaning of Gadel, or Gael, is simply co-sharers or co-dividers.

The root *dail*, *dal*, or *del*, denoting a share, is widely distributed throughout the Teutonic languages. It appears in English in the word "deal" (as in dealing cards) and "dole" (as in doling alms), and in every instance it conveys the idea of a division. The word is characteristically Teutonic, and is not derived from a Celtic or Latin source.

[2] *Cf.* Secundius Hymn (preface); *Leabhar Breac:* Homily on St. Patrick; and Gilla Caomain: Chronological poem.

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the system described by Cæsar as practised by the German tribes. With them, as with the Gael, tillage land was apportioned among the family groups related by blood; and in both cases, also, the tenure was annual, each group being compelled to till fresh land every year. Cæsar gives a series of reasons for the prevalence of this custom; reasons sound at the core, and, under a tribal system, altogether beneficent. The custom has come down to modern times in the run-rig system which prevailed in the Highlands of Scotland until the nineteenth century, but there was this important difference: that whereas the original custom implied tribal occupation and ownership, and a regard for common interests, the modern system lacked both the stimulus of individual ownership and the ancient bond of clan sentiment. It was, in fact, a shadow without the substance; an anachronism without either sentimental or economic warrant; and it gave place to a system that, whatever its faults, was founded upon a recognition of facts.

The resemblance between the ancient customs of Ireland, as shown by the Brehon Tracts, and those of the German tribes, as described by Roman writers, is too close to be explicable by assuming for those customs a common Aryan origin. It is true that in the ancient Cymric Laws, for example, we find many parallels with the Brehon and the Teutonic laws: as, for instance, the Cymric *galanas*, which is the Irish *eric* and the German *weregild*, namely, a scale of compensation for crime.[3] We find, too, that the peculiar custom of *gavelkind* was observed alike in Ireland, Wales, and Kent. Still more striking is the fact that the custom of "fasting" upon a creditor (an integral part of the Law of Distress) was not only recognised by the jurisprudence of

[3] The operation of *eric* was between group and group. Crime inside a group was punished by expulsion. The expelled members were called "Kin-wrecked" men. In the clan days of the Highlands, they were called "broken men."

ancient Wales, but may be found in full operation at the present day among certain tribes in India, thus pointing obviously to an Aryan source as the origin of the custom. There are distinct traces, too, in the Cymric Laws of fosterage; but it may be a question whether or not this was a native or a borrowed custom. It is certain that nowhere outside of Teutonic countries (particularly Scandinavia) and Ireland, and Scotland, do we find such remarkable examples of the persistence of this institution, and the amazing devotion which it inspired (especially between foster-brothers) as the histories of these countries afford.[1]

The social conditions illustrated by the Brehon Laws are in harmony with those legends, (based upon genuine traditions) that are frequently treated as if they were accepted history. The Heroic Age of Ireland is regarded as representing a phase of history by some who reject the pre-Heroic Ages as fabulous. On the other hand, there are those of the mythological school who regard Cuchullin (or Cuchulain) as a sun-god. Both points of view are probably untenable. It is just as easy to believe in the super-human feats of Cuchullin, as it is to believe that no such hero ever existed. The rational view to take is, that before history was written in Ireland, tradition preserved the memory of a champion, super-eminent for his feats of strength and skill, around whose person had clustered a series of legends, some well-grounded, some baseless, and others derived from actual incidents entirely dissociated, perhaps, from the romantic hero whom the bards called Cuchullin. To attempt to associate this hero with totemism, on the strength of his name (*Cu*, a hound) and a specific case of *tabu* in the legend, is venturesome. We read the story of

[1] The whole subject of tribal custom is exhaustively dealt with in Seebohm's *The Tribal System in Wales* and *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*. See also Maine's *Ancient Irish Laws* and Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii.

Cuchullin and Queen Meve of Connaught, and the Red Branch Knights of Ulster, and Ferdiad the doughty Firbolg champion, as contained in the *Táin bo Cuailnge* (? the cow-drive), with the feeling that the bards have worked up a marvellously interesting story out of scanty material, for we may depend upon it that the more precise the details in these Irish Sagas, the more active has been the play of the bardic imagination. Yet it is impossible to escape from a sense of reality. The correct atmosphere is there; the social picture is painted by impressionists; but the colours are in harmony with what we know to be the true scheme; and we realise that we are looking upon a large truth half obliterated by a mass of small lies. These stories, therefore,—whether they relate to the first century or a later period—possess a true historic value: they are really excellent specimens of historical romances, with more romance than history, but with the history illuminated by the romance.

The Finn Saga may be reasonably placed in the same category; but the evidence in favour of an historical basis is stronger. I see no reason to doubt that a certain society of champions, having as leader a man of remarkable prowess (who, during or after his life-time was called Finn or Fionn; possibly an eponymic name) attained such distinction among the other champion corps of Ireland, as to cause the name of Fianna of Leinster to become synonymous with physical strength and vigour, and to give their name to the Irish language as a word for "giant" and "champion." On this hypothesis, there is nothing that requires explanation in the fact that the Finn legends are common both to Ireland and Scotland, for the Irish immigrants who colonised Scotland brought their traditions with them; and among these, the story of Finn MacCumhall and the Fianna whom he commanded, was perhaps the most widely known and the most tenaciously cherished.

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Féinnedha, an authoritative form of the word, may with some reason be interpreted as "enemies,"[6] a name that must necessarily have been given to the Fianna by foes who spoke a Teutonic tongue. It is not improbable that there was a Scandinavian element in the composition of the Fianna. The mother of Finn himself was a daughter of the King of Lochlan, according to one of the Scoto-Fenian tales,[7] and some of the Fenian names, as already shown, are plainly Teutonic.

If we are to believe tradition, the services of the Fianna were employed mainly against Firbolgs and Scandinavians. In the first century—so the tradition runs—Tuathal, the High King (of the Heremonian line) imposed a *boroma*, or cow-tax, upon the Fir-Gaileoin, a Firbolgic people of Leinster, and the exactions gradually became more oppressive until, finally, the tribute-payers seem to have been goaded into revolt. They were then supplanted in Leinster by the Heremonians, or Scots, who employed a body of militia (the Fianna) to aid them as a fighting force in carrying out their policy.

The Fianna are placed in the third century by tradition, and that is just the century during which I have assumed that some of the later Teutonic settlements in Ireland took place. Ptolemy proves that there were Teutons in Leinster in the second century, and the historical evidence, on the whole, seems to consist well with the traditional hints of a political upheaval in that province between the second and

[6] G. Ic., *Fjande*; O. H. G., *Fiant*; O. Sax., *Fiund*—all meaning "enemy." This is a purely Teutonic word, showing, in contrast to *hostis*, the objective attitude of the Teuton towards his foes, who were "the haters" (Ger. *feind*, the hater). The English word "fiend" is a development of this idea.

According to tradition, the main duty of the Fianna consisted in defending the boundaries of the High King of Erin.

[7] J. F. Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, xi., 349-350. Campbell (i., 62) remarks on the similarity between the Gaelic and the Norse stories.

fourth centuries. The *Senchus Mór* describes the three dominant races who were in Ireland at the time of the compilation of the Laws, as the Feini, the Ultonians, and the Laighin: "the three noble tribes who divided this island," as they were called. The Ultonians (*Uluid* or *Ultas*) were the people of Ulster, the so-called tribes of Ir; the Feini were associated with Tara in Meath; and the Laighin were the Leinster men.

These names have been the subject of much speculation. *Uluid* or *Ulta* has proved so puzzling that no real attempt has been made to give an etymology of the word. Probably it is a form of Cymric *Gwellt*, grass, signifying a grazing country,[8] which, again, fits in with the etymology of *Ir*—signifying greenness and juiciness. F*eini* (not to be confused with the Fianna) has been interpreted as meaning "farmers"[9] (O'Curry), "masters" (Atkinson), and "Phœnicians" (Shaw). But with greater probability F*eini* is derived from Old Icelandic *Venja*, to teach, for the *Feini* were the law-givers, and their eponym, Fenius Farsa, was a "school-master" in Scythia. *Laighin* or Leinster as a place-name is interpreted in a curious fashion. In his analysis of the contents of the Book of Leinster, Dr. Atkinson quotes the legend that "Leinster took its name from the broad lances (*lagin*) brought by the Black Gaill across the sea when they came with Labraid Longseck." The Black Gaill, or Dugalls, must surely be an allusion to a Scandinavian settlement. "Broad lances" is an etymology that still holds the field, but its improbability is obvious. The name is with far greater likelihood derived from Old Icelandic *laegd*, a low-lying place, to which Anglo-Saxon *léag* (Leigh), a grassy plain, is probably related. This

[8] According to Camden (trans. 1695), the Irish form in his day was *Cui Guilly*, i.e., province of Guilly.

[9] Old Icelandic, *Vin*, Old Fris., *Fenne*, pasture, would consist with that derivation.

derivation correctly describes the great limestone plain of Leinster.

How the Scandinavian "ster" (*sæter*, mountain-pastures) was applied to three out of the four provinces of Ireland has never, I think, been satisfactorily explained. It seems to denote a wider range of Nordic influence than Irish historians are willing at present to admit. Possibly, too, further study of the obscure F*eni* dialect, which has completely puzzled Irish scholars, will show that contrary to the theory underlying all past attempts to find a key to its mysteries—"sages" in the dialect are mentioned in the Annals—its basis may be Teutonic rather than Celtic. The "language of the Feni" may prove to be an element in what one may call "Gaelic in the making." And now we have to consider what Gaelic really is.

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selves was "Gael," and for their language, "Gaelic." There were also the Low-country Scots who spoke a Teutonic language, but who retained the name of Scots (a name repudiated by the Highlanders) after abandoning gradually, as the result of social contact with their predecessors in Scotland, the "Scots" tongue which their ancestors had brought with them from Ireland. But these fundamental, though frequently overlooked, facts in Scottish ethnology will be examined more closely in the proper place.

How was this Hibernian, or Scottish, or Gaelic language formed by the Hibernians, Scots, or Gael? It must have been built up slowly and gradually, like all mixed languages resulting from inter-racial contact. Originally Cymric, like the British language, with whatever non-Aryan and pre-Celtic elements the Celts may have borrowed from their predecessors, the Irish vocabulary was enlarged and enriched by the addition of many words derived from the languages (differing only dialectically) of the various Teutonic hordes that arrived in ever-increasing numbers in the fruitful isle of the west. And when St. Patrick came to Ireland in the fifth century, the lingual development was rapid. Latin words were grafted in large numbers upon the Celto-Teutonic stem; and Ireland then learned, apparently for the first time, to read and write.

It is a hard saying to many Irishmen, and in their view an incredible statement, that before the arrival of St. Patrick, Ireland had no written language. They point in refutation to the Ogam characters, and the wonderful learning of their country in mediæval times. The Ogam argument is now rarely heard, for it is no longer tenable. Though the script is probably very ancient, its probable use as literary machinery has never been seriously suggested. As for the remarkable outburst of literary activity which followed the introduction of Christianity, the evidences of which are furnished alike by Christian missions and by

Christian manuscripts that found their way all over Europe, it is sufficient to say that the birth of learning in Ireland was the outcome of the educational stimulus supplied by St. Patrick and his followers. The thirst for knowledge and the desire to employ a newly-found means of expression, hitherto denied to the zealous adherents of the new faith, were impulses derived from the work of the great missionary and educationist, whose name will be for ever associated with that of his adopted country.

What do we learn from tradition about the ancient tongue of Ireland? There is a legend that the Irish language was formed by Gadel Glas, the eponymous of the Gael, from the seventy-two languages of the world. Another version tells us that Fenius Farsa sent from his school in Scythia his seventy-two disciples, to learn the various languages then spoken throughout the world.[1] By a natural process of reasoning, the *Feni* of Meath are derived from this Fenius.

According to Flaherty, Fenius composed the alphabets of the Hebrews, Greeks, and Latins, the *Beth-luis-non* (apparently a Runic alphabet like the Futhork) and the Ogam. This information he professed to take from Forcherne, an Irish poet, who was said to have lived before the Christian era—a statement that is hardly less suspicious than the story about the existence of Fenius himself. It would seem probable that the whole of this legend is based upon a confused knowledge of the invention of the alphabet by the Phœnicians, who are eponymised by the name of Fenius. Or, Fenius may have been invented as the ancestor of the *Feni* of Meath, an undoubtedly historical people, who, by the topsy-turvy process usual in such cases, are said to have derived their name from Fenius, instead of Fenius taking his existence from them.

There is a statement by Nennius which throws light upon the method employed by St. Patrick, in combining the use

[1] Senchus Mór, i., p. 21.

of letters in Ireland with the spread of Christianity. He informs us that Patrick wrote over three hundred abgetoria, which word has been interpreted by Ware and others to mean the alphabet.[2] Tirechan, in his life of the saint, asserts that the latter baptized men daily, and taught or read to them letters or abgetories; and he gives specific instances of these letters having been written for converts. Father Innes, in his celebrated essay on "The Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland,"[3] quotes the glossary of Du Cange to prove that, in the Middle Ages, the words Abgatorium, Abcturium, Abecenarium, Abecenarium, and Abecedarium were used to express the A. B. C. or alphabet; and in support of his contention that the Irish received the knowledge of letters through the Latin language, Innes argues, shrewdly enough, that the Gaelic words for a letter, a book, to read, and to write, are all derived from Latin.[4] The Romans never having entered Ireland, a knowledge of those words could only have been obtained from St. Patrick and other Latin-speaking missionaries, who finding no equivalents in the Irish language, expressed them in Latin, giving them only an Irish inflexion. This is not merely a plausible argument, but a fairly convincing proof that the use of letters in Ireland coincided with the introduction of Christianity; and it is reinforced by the fact that the ecclesiastical terms relating to the Christian religion which have been incorporated in the Gaelic language, are derived from Latin. This we should expect; but it affords presumptive evidence that the two sets of terms, literary and ecclesiastical, both obtained through a Latin medium, were introduced by the same Latin-speaking instructors, the Christian missionaries. What share, if any, Palladius had in promoting the use of letters during his short and un-

[2] The word used by Nennius is *Abietoria*, which Innes reads as *Abgetoria*.

[3] Innes (1885), pp. 246-7.

[4] *Ibid.*

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According to Gluck and other scholars, the Celtic V*ind* comes from the same root as the Gothic *hveit* (English "white"). The root is *Vid*, German *hvit*, with an intrusive "n," a nasalised form of *Vid*. The nearest Teutonic cognate of V*ind* is Danish *hvid*, white, and it is a question whether V*ind* may not have been derived direct from that source. Cymric *gwyn* is cognate, but the Gaelic forms, *Finde* and *Find*, later *Fin* and *Finn*, are more akin to the Scandinavian (see V*idua*).

In Buvinda we find V*ind* used to denote a river with clear water, as may be seen from the use of the later F*inn* in river-names. Therefore, the usual etymology of Buvinda, "the river of the white cow" (in itself an unlikely name for a river) is more than doubtful. It is true that Bede (B. IV., c. 4) translates (surely with the assistance of an Irishman, for Bede can scarcely have had a knowledge of Gaelic) Inisbofinde (now Inishbofin) as "the island of the white heifer"; and *Bofinde* is the Gaelic form of *Buvind*. But here *finde* implies whiteness, while in Buvinda as a river-name, it has the force of clearness. The prefix *Bu* must be the Gaelic Bo, cow, for Adamnan, whose native tongue was Gaelic, translates the river-name Bo (the Boyle, i.e., the Bo-ail or cow-river) as *Bos*. Therefore, Buvinda seems to mean the "cow-river" (distinguished by its clear water) implying, like the name Boyle, a stream where cattle were watered.[7]

A point to notice in this discussion of the name Buvinda is, that here we have in one of the earliest, if not the earliest, example of the Celtic word for "cow," as used in Ireland, a purely Cymric form; for *Bu* is to-day the Welsh name for cow, as it was the Irish name in the second century.

[7] There is a pretty legend that tells us how Findloch Cera in Sligo got its name. The birds sent by God to Patrick when he was in Cruaich used to strike the water with their wings, and thus made it whiter than milk, whence the loch was called "white" (Atkinson's Introduction to the *Book of Leinster*, p. 38).

By the seventh century, it was in Irish, *Bo*. Thus we see that the Celtic elements in what was afterwards called the Gaelic language, had diverged in the course of five centuries, from the Cymric forms of the second century. And the divergence, with some show of reason, can be assigned to the fact that during those centuries, Gaelic was in the making.

In *Vidua*, identifiable with the River Finn, we have what is apparently the Danish form (*hvid*) of *Vind* (now *Finn*).[8] The *Vinderius*, also in Ulster, is shown in Ptolemy's map as a crooked stream. It is referable probably to O. Icelandic *Vindr*, awry (Dan. *Vind*, to turn or bend) an appropriate meaning for the Lagan, in contradistinction to the Bann, which may be derived from O. Icelandic *Beinn*, straight, a designation that correctly describes the course of the Lower Bann.[9] Ptolemy's name for the Bann is *Argita*, a Cymric word (*Argae*, a dam, *Argau*, to enclose, *Argaead*, a shutting in) denoting a boundary, for then as now (it separates Antrim from Londonderry) it provided a natural division.

The *Shannon*—the pride of Ireland, called by Ptolemy the *Senus*—has an undeniably Teutonic form. The root *Sen* is apparently O. Icelandic *sen*, denoting a slow motion, which is applicable to the flow of the Shannon for the greater part of its course.

The *Barrow*, for which Ptolemy's name is the *Birgus*, probably takes its name from the same ultimate source as Brigantes, in whose country it was situated. *Birgus* and *Barrow* are related to Cymric *Bri*, gen. *Brig* (Scots "brae"), but Ptolemy's form suggests a derivation from a Teutonic origin: O.Icelandic *Berg*, a rock or hill. The river rises among the Slievebloom Mountains on the border of King's County and Queen's County.

Near the Birgus, in the country of the Manapii, Ptolemy

[8] I would remark, however, that *Finn* in Old Icelandic means "smooth."

[9] There is a River Beina in Norway, and a Bane in Lincolnshire. In the North of England, *Bain* means straight or direct.

places the *Modana*, now the *Slaney*, itself a Danish name (*Slaaen*, dull). The name Modana is nearer O. Icelandic *Móda*, a large river, than Cymric *Mwth*, rapid, an alternative derivation.

Ptolemy's *Dabrona*, now the *Blackwater*, can hardly be attributed to Cymric *du*, Gaelic *dub*, black. It is probably derivable from Cymric *Dyfru*, to water, *Dyfrhynt*, a watercourse (Cf. Ptolemy's name *Sabrina* for the Severn). Ptolemy's *Libnius* (Liffey) is referable to Cymric *Llêf*, a flood, *Llifaw* to stream, to flow.

It may be added that some of the river-names of Ireland not mentioned by Ptolemy seem to betray Scandinavian origins. The Clare is the Danish *Klare*, with the same meaning as the English "clear." The *Erne* appears in O. Icelandic as *Ern*, rapid or vigorous, and the *Suck* as *Sukka*, noisy.

Turning to the general structure of the Gaelic language, we find incorporated in it a number of words which, beyond question, are a Scandinavian legacy. The obvious reply to this fact is, that these words were bequeathed to Gaelic during the raids and settlements of the Northmen, which commenced (it is supposed) at the end of the eighth century. That this explanation is not conclusive I shall prove by the examination of a single word, but a very important one, in ancient Irish: the word *mocu*. This word occurs over and over again in Adamnan, and was clearly understood by him to mean "clan" or "tribe"; literally the descendant from a progenitor. It is usually translated as being synonymous with *mac* in modern Irish and Scottish names; while *mac*, in turn, is equated with the Cymric *mab*, older *map*. But the strict meaning of the Cymric word is "boy" or "son," whereas the Old Irish *mocu* stands for descendants or posterity. The difference between the two is shown in an Ogam inscription "Maqqui Erccias Maqqui Mucoi Dovinias," cited by Rhys and Jones, which

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as early as the second century, some of the best parts of Ireland were held by settlers who spoke a Scandinavian tongue. That is a view which, to the best of my knowledge, no Irish historian has ever taken. Nor, indeed, is it possible for anyone to accept this position, if his ethnological opinions coincide with those of Dr. Joyce, whose authority on Irish place-names is believed to be unassailable. For this is what Dr. Joyce writes:—

"In our island (Ireland) there was scarcely any admixture of races till the introduction of an important English element, chiefly within the last three hundred years . . . . and accordingly our place-names are purely Keltic, with the exception of about a thirteenth part, which are English, and mostly of recent introduction."[12]

I can conceive of no statements that can be more easily refuted than these. No one who holds the opinions that they embody can ever hope to be able to solve, even partially, the puzzling problem of pre-historic Ireland. I have already shown, and I shall bring further evidence to show, that the postulate of an almost unmixed race in Ireland, prior to the sixteenth century, is fundamentally unsound.

Bishop M'Carthy, in his edition of Adamnan, says that "no fact in the pagan history of Ireland is more certain than that the whole country was originally held by the Irish Picts or Irians.[13]

With certain reservations, I subscribe entirely to that view. It is possible to go further, and say that the people whose Ptolemaic and other river-names we have been examining, included the Picts. And this brings us face to face with the question: "Who were the Picts?"

[12] *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, p. vi. Since these lines were written, the death of Dr. Joyce has left a blank in the realm of Irish research, which, however some of his views may be regarded, cannot be easily filled.

[13] Quoted by Mr. Wentworth Huyshe in his edition of Adamnam's *Life of St. Columba*, p. 113.

CHAPTER XIII.

Antiquaries and the Picts—The different schools of theorists—The Cruithne, the Irish Picts, and the Picts of Scotland—Tighernach and the Piccardach—The meaning of "Picars"—The Roman *Picti*—*Picti* a corrupt form of a pre-existing name—The Picts as pigmies—Sir Walter Scott on the Orcadian "Peghts"—Picts-Houses—The Picts and the elf-creed of the Teutons—The meaning of the name "Pict"—Confusion between elves and Picts—Beddoe on Ugrian thralls of the Norsemen—Finn-men and Finn-women.

It is not altogether surprising that the Pict has been regarded, sometimes as a giant, sometimes as a dwarf, sometimes as a fairy, and at all times as an enigma. Ever since Sir Walter Scott—himself a sound antiquary—poked fun at the hallucinations of amiable Oldbucks obsessed by pet postulates, the Pictish question has formed a centre around which many a battle-royal between rival schools of theorists has been fought. These encounters have been sometimes positively vicious in the intensity of the acrimony aroused by them. The spectacle of normally peaceful and benignantly gracious antiquaries seeking (metaphorically) one another's blood, because their views on the Pictish question were divergent, shows at once the perversity of human nature, and the disabilities under which even wise men may suffer when their wisdom lacks the flavouring of humour, or their sense of proportion is temporarily thrown off its balance. And after all that has happened, the Pictish question still remains unsolved, notwithstanding some confident assertions to the contrary.

It would serve no useful purpose to tell the story of the Pictish warfare in words, or to relate the varying success of the Gothic, the Cymric, the Gaelic, and the Ibernian Schools. At the present day, it may be said that the Gael

hold the field. Dr. Skene, the great protagonist of the Gaelic theory, a skilled lawyer in working up a brief, a sound antiquary when unencumbered with preconceived ideas, and a persuasive writer in presenting a case, has apparently prevailed upon most of our Scottish historians to accept his views, although there is a sturdy minority of Celtic philologists who keep the Cymric flag flying. Sir John Rhys, the mainstay of the non-Aryan theory, has a small and only partially convinced following, who find in his hypothesis a way of escape from certain difficulties that have not been met by the Celts. The Goths, whose main pillar was the pompous and pugnacious Pinkerton, are for the present a wholly discredited school. What if all this confusion has resulted from a lack of co-ordination between the different points of view? What if none of them is either wholly right or wholly wrong?

For the present, my purpose is to link the Cruithne, commonly called the Irish Picts, with the Picts of Scotland. Irish traditions gives three names, Irians, Cruithne, and Dal n'Araidhe, to the same people; and I have already shown that Cruithne was another name for the Tuatha de Dananu. While Adamnan and the Annals of Ulster do not apply the name Cruithne to the Scottish Picts, the Pictish Chronicle, St. Berchan, the Albanic Duan, the Book of Deer, and John of Fordun plainly indicate that the names are interchangeable. Also, Tighernach, regarded as the most careful as well as the earliest of the Irish Annalists, frequently applies the name Cruithne to the Picts of Scotland, whom he designates likewise Picti, Pictones, and Piccardach; and he definitely connects the Cruithne with the Dal n'Araidhe.

I have stated that the name Cruithne indicates a people distinguished by their elf-beliefs, or obsessed by them, as a modern word might express their attitude. I think it can be shown still more clearly that the Picts of Scotland were dominated by a similar belief. But let us see, first of all,

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meaning of the name, or is it a Roman corruption of a name having a totally different meaning? At one time, the former conclusion was unquestioned, but the prevailing tendency to-day is to make *Picti* a corrupt form of some unknown Celtic word. Probably this idea originated with the difficulty of reconciling the Latin word *Picti* with the Anglo-Saxon names for the Picts.[3] Also, it is difficult to explain why, for the first time, the Romans should give the name of *Picti* to a people in North Britain, three and a half centuries after they had seen a painted people in South Britain, and long after they had come in contact with tattooers in the south of Europe. Why did they give the name of *Picti* to these later people, while they gave no such name to the woad-using blueskins described by Cæsar? It may be argued that it was because the Picts painted pictures on their bodies, while Cæsar's Britons dyed their skins, not for ornament, but in order to intimidate their enemies. That argument is, however, too flimsy to withstand attack. And those philologists who have sought to derive the origin of the name *Picti* from a Celtic source, with a meaning unconnected with the custom of painting, have every justification for looking behind the Latin word. But they have not discovered the Celtic word for which they have sought.

The conclusion I have reached regarding the origin of the Roman *Picti* is, that it must be a corruption of another name, but that this name means something entirely different from "the painted people." The Anglo-Saxon forms of the name cannot easily be an Anglo-Saxon rendering of *Picti*. Our early chroniclers, such as Gildas, Adamnan, Bede, and Nennius employed the Latin language as their medium of expression, and consequently used the recognised Roman name *Picti*. In King Alfred's translation of Bede,

[3] The Anglo-Saxon forms are Peohtas, Pyghtas or Pighтas, and Pehtas. The Scots forms are Peychtis (old) and Pechts (modern). The Scandinavian form is Pet or Pett.

however, he gives Bede's *Picti* as Peohtas. Probably he knew no more than Bede knew about the origin of the Picts. But he knew, and probably the contributors to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle knew, that *Picti* was a corrupt form of the original name, which they rendered as Peohtas and Pyghtas.

In order to ascertain the meaning of the word Pict, we must go to the country of the Picts, the modern Scotland, or part of it. There we find the truly remarkable fact that from the Shetlands to the Border, the prevailing tradition is that the people called Picts by the peasantry were dwarfs or pigmies, with a marked predilection for underground dwellings. The word "picht," still alive in Scottish dialect, means a "very diminutive, deformed person" (Jamieson).

An excellent example of the popular notion of a Pict in the nineteenth century is given by Sir Walter Scott. He tells us (in his notes on *The Pirate*)[4] that about 1810, a missionary, "*a very little man, dark-complexioned, ill-dressed, and unshaved,*" arrived at North Ronaldshay, one of the Orkney Islands. The inhabitants "set him down as one of the ancient Picts, or, as they call them with the usual strong guttural, Peghts." They produced a pair of "very little, uncouth-looking boots, with prodigiously thick soles," and appealed to Mr. Stevenson (grandfather of Robert Louis Stevenson) whether it was possible such articles of raiment could belong to anyone but a "Peght." The attitude of the people was decidedly hostile, until they understood that they had made a mistake in assuming that the unfortunate little missionary was a Pict.

The following statement shows what must have been the popular conception of a Pict in the fifteenth century:—

Writing in 1443, the Bishop of Orkney states that when Harald Fairhair conquered the Orkneys in the ninth century,

[4] See also Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, where the story is related. The Orcadians considered that the "Peghts" were "no canny."

he found that the inhabitants consisted of two nations, the P*apae* and the P*eti*. The P*apae* are obviously Christian anchorites, the same name that was applied by the Norsemen to the Irish monks whose relics they found in Iceland. The *Peti* are the Picts, as we know from the name *Petlands-fjördr*, given to the Petland, or Pentland, Firth in the *Heimskringla*, and the name P*etia* given to Scotland by Saxo Grammaticus. The Bishop tells us that these Orcadian P*eti* were dwarfs who, though of little strength, were wonderful workers in the construction of their "cities." At midday, they hid in little houses under the ground.[5]

These "little houses" are, of course, the underground or semi-subterranean structures called in Orkney Picts-houses, or eirde-houses, or earth-houses, of which so many examples are to be found in the islands. The architectural type includes those structures above ground in the Hebrides usually called "bee-hive" houses, and known in the seventeenth century (to quote Martin) as *Tey-nin-druinich*,[6] literally the bunch-backs' houses, though translated as "Druid's House."

We find the Ronaldshay Peght and the Bishop of Orkney's *Peti* reproduced in the Teutonic dwarf or elf-stories. The little missionary is a counterpart of the coarsely clad "little black men" of the German tales, or the Niss of the Swedish tales, who was the size of a baby, with an old but wise face, and who wore a coarse woollen jacket and shoes like those of peasant children. Likewise, the Bishop's *Peti* of Orkney, the small people who hid themselves at midday, must surely be identical with the dwarfs of Northern mythology, who shun the light, the legend being that, if surprised by the breaking forth of day, they became changed to stone. In the *Alvis-mal*, it is related that the dwarf Alvis had been promised Thor's daughter in marriage, but when he went

[5] See *The Bannatyne Miscellany* p. 43, for the original quotation.

[6] Martin's *Western Islands* (1884), p. 154. *Druinneach* means in Gaelic "hump-backed."

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is the same as the O. Icelandic *pett*, a Pict, the latter a borrowed form.[10]

Thus the word Pict comes, apparently, from a Celtic source, with a signification similar to that of the word Cruithne. The Scandinavian form P*ett*,[11] and the forms employed by English writers of the Middle Ages, associate the name with the Gaulish *petti* and the Welsh *peth*, more obviously than the *picht* of Scottish dialect, a word having the same radical meaning as *petti*, and deriving its guttural form from a Low German influence. The form "picht" may have been the source of the Latin *Picti*, which became stereotyped as the national name of the people to whom it was applied. The easy transmutation of the "V" (or "W") and "F" sounds with the "P" sound can be seen from examples in the various Teutonic tongues; and it is not a little curious that while the name of the Picts took, in the Teutonic languages, the initial "P" of the Cymri, the Welsh Triads took the initial "V" of the Teutons, and generally called the Picts *Gwyddel Vichti* or *Ffichti*, or, as it is sometimes written, *Phichtiad*.[12]

[10] One being the (borrowed) Cymric form, and the other its Scandinavian equivalent. Pinkerton points out that the Northern nations adopted the Roman "P" to express "V" and "W."

[11] In Old Icelandic, *petti* means a small piece of a field—a foreign word, according to Cleasby, introduced from the British Isles.

[12] In Anglo-Saxon, the Runic letter "*p*" was employed to represent the letter "W." It seems to have been confused sometimes with the Latin "P." For example, the name pechthelm (Weohthelm or Wechthelm), which appears thus in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (iii. 25) must be the same name as that of *B*ishop Pechthelm, whom *B*ede mentions as a contemporary. It is difficult, indeed, to believe in the genuinely Teutonic origin of any name with an initial "P."

The Welsh had another name for the Picts, viz., *Peithwr*, meaning "men of the plains." A third name, *Brithwr*, is used in Welsh literature for the same people. *Brith* means both "speckled" and "mixed." Probably it has the latter meaning when applied to the Picts, as denoting an admixture of races (cf. *Brith Eingl*, mongrel Angles). The name "Britons" may conceivably have the meaning of a "mixed" people, thus agreeing with the traditional composition of the Cymri.

It would appear, therefore, that the Orcadian *Peti* were really elves of the subterranean sort. But the Euhemeristic theory of the origin of the elf-myth in the North, appears to derive some support from certain facts of anthropology relating to the Shetlands. Beddoe remarks that black hair is not infrequent there, and that it is usually found in persons of a "decidedly Ugrian aspect" and melancholic temperament. The same type, he adds, is found at Wick, in South Caithness, and in the north-east of Sutherland.[13] He suggests that the type may represent the Ugrian thralls of the Norse invaders, or possibly some primitive Ugrian tribes. Beddoe also remarked upon a Finnish type which he had observed in the Island of Lewis,[14] a type with which the present writer is acquainted. Did the elf-stories in those parts of Scotland take their rise from the presence there of Finnish thralls, who accompanied the Norse colonists,[15] either during or before the historical period? A Swedish belief is that the elves represented the souls of those who were slaves, and who tended the fields of their masters while the latter were engaged in piracy;[16] and that belief tallies with the tradition in the Highlands that the *Drinneach*, or hunchbacks, were "Picts" and "labourers."

The popular belief in Sweden to which I have just alluded, is really the most plausible explanation I have seen of the elf-myth, for it provides a platform upon which the realist and the mythologist can both meet upon equal terms. If we postulate a slave caste of Finns, as forming part of the equipment of the Scandinavian settlers in different places of the British Isles, we can find a ready explanation of the Lapponic custom of the knotted cord, in those places where Scandinavian and Ugrian types are most prevalent, as well

[13] *The Races of Britain*, p. 239. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[15] It is possible that there is a radical philological connexion between "thralls" and "trolls."

[16] *Northern Mythology*, i., p. 93.

as the Shamanism that is such a feature of the Dananns, the Cruithne, and the Picts. We can also understand the elf-traits of the Orcadian *Peti* whom Harald Fairhair is said to have exterminated.

There is a tradition in Shetland [17] of certain of the natives being the descendants of "Finn-women." The Orcadian accounts of "Finn-men," who appeared occasionally on the coast in their little boats, tally closely with the statement of Claudius Clavus (fifteenth century) about "the little pygmies a cubit high whom I have seen, after they were taken at sea in a little hide boat, which is now hanging in the cathedral at Nidaros (Trondhjem). There is likewise a long vessel of hides, which was also once taken with such pygmies in it." These boats, according to Nansen, than whom there is no better authority, correspond with the Kayak and the Umiak (the women's boat) of the Eskimos.[18] Were the Finn-men of the Orkneys Eskimos or Lapps? The "Finn" boats captured in the Orkneys and sent to Edinburgh may, with advantage, be compared with the boats at Trondhjem.

[17] Tudor, *The Orkneys and Shetlands*, pp. 168-9.

[18] Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, ii., p. 269.

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the Great ever lived, a suspicion that is strengthened by the exactitude of his date. It was easy enough to invent a line of descent from him, with all the necessary intermediate names; but his existence is not made more convincing by a precise genealogy. The view I take of the whole of the so-called history of Ireland before the Christian era is, that it requires much stronger evidence than any that has yet been offered, to support the historical character of the numerous kings whose reigns are usually accepted as authentic. That does not imply disbelief in the general accuracy of Irish tradition; but it means that tradition is demonstrably unable to bear the weight of precise detail with which the Irish fabricators have overloaded it. Tradition has supplied the skeleton; the bards have supplied the warm flesh, and the pulsing blood of the living story.

Rury the Great may with some probability be identified with the mythic Rodric of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Layamon's *Brut*. He was the first king of the Picts to sail from "Scythia" for Scotland and Ireland; the name is the same as the Scandinavian Ruric. Ruadhraidhe (pronounced Ruari) means probably "the Red Ruler," an etymology that is more patent in what is now the English form "Roderick." The association of the Gaelic *ruadh*, red, with the Icelandic *rjódr*, red, is noticeable, all the more so, as it differs so widely from the Cymric *coch*, red. So, too, the Gaelic *raidhe* (if it means *righ*, king) is to be equated with the Gothic *reiks*, ruler, and the Scandinavian *ríki*, kingdom. But it is believed that these words, and the whole of their Teutonic cognates, are traceable to the Celtic *rig*, king, to be seen in such Gallic personal names as Cingetorix and Vercingtorix. The Latin *rex* is a near congener of the Gallic *rix*, and neither of them is far distant from the ultimate source, the Sanscrit *rajan*, king. But it is possible that in these Gallic names the secondary meaning of "tribesman" may be meant by *rix*, for "Cyn" seems to be the

Gallic equivalent of the Cymric *Cûn*, a leader or chief. Conceivably the latter may be the true derivation of the word "king" rather than *Cyn*, a tribe.

The golden age of the Irish Picts was the first century A.D. That, at any rate, is the period assigned by Irish historians to the Heroic Age, and the Cuchullin saga. Whether Conall Cernach, the celebrated Ulster hero, and his king, Concobar MacNessa, and Fergus Mac Roigh (who quarrelled with Concobar) and the other champions who formed the community known in Irish tradition as the Red Branch Knights —whether these were men or myths, who shall say? If they are historical, why make Cuchullin, their contemporary, a solar myth? It is true, Cuchullin performed prodigies of strength and skill that no human being has ever accomplished, but these are merely bardic extravagances, and do not destroy his historical character. He was the great champion of the Picts of Ulster in their struggle with the Connaught tribes, as described with much fertility of imagination in the *Táin bo Cuailgne*; yet he himself was not, it is said, of the race of Ir.

I see no reason to disbelieve in the existence of the Red Branch Knights. There is a sureness of touch about the stories of the Heroic Age that seems to show that the tradition, when first committed to writing, was well-defined. The Heroic tales have the true atmosphere of heroism, and they lack the superfluity of adjectives that inevitably betray the hand of the mediæval inventor or redactor. It seems probable that the period should be placed later than the first, but before the fifth, century. It is impossible to reconcile the Ireland of Cuchullin with the Ireland of Tacitus; a country of warriors, with a country whose fighting qualities the Romans despised. The evidence of a reliable historian like Tacitus must certainly be preferred to that of distorted and edited tradition. Yet both may be true, if referred to different periods. Perhaps James Macpherson

was not so far wrong, after all, in making Cuchullin and Finn (or Fingal, as he called him) contemporaries, though this is one of the points seized upon and emphasised by hostile critics in demolishing his "Ossian." There may have been too much Macpherson, and too little Ossian, in the work of genius—and a work of genius it remains in spite of everything—named the Poems of Ossian; but it has the true heroic ring, and the general picture it presents of the ethnic Gael and Pict is probably not untruthful, if allowance be made for a poet's license. Macpherson was what we call an Impressionist, and must be judged accordingly.

Certainly, Macpherson is more credible in his extravagances than the Irish bards in theirs. The exuberance of imagination which characterised the latter, is frequently seen in their tales of the Heroic Age. But we have in the story of Deirdre, one of the tenderest and most moving romances that have ever come from a Gaelic pen. The three sons of Usnach, one of whom (Naoise) is the hero of this romance, were members of the first order of champions, the Red Branch Knights of Ulster, the most skilful, the most valorous, and the most chivalrous of all the Irish fighters. But why Red Branch? Branch of what or whom?

That is a reasonable question to ask, but I have not observed that it has ever been answered. The Red Branch was just the Red Branch, and there's an end on't. Here it is needful to state that the Picts, or Cruithne, or Clanna Rury, once possessed, according to popular belief, the whole of Ulster. It is highly probable, as I have already suggested, that at one time they possessed, not only Ulster, but the greater part of Ireland. In the Heroic Age, we find them centred near Armagh at a place called Emhain Macha, usually named Emania. The etymology of this name need not detain us, but it may be useful to say that it means probably the River Plain (Avon Magh), the river in question being a tributary of the Blackwater. There is the usual

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Emania was destroyed in 332 A.D. That is an important date to remember, for, in my belief, it marks off definitely Irish reliable history from tradition and legend. The chronology of this event is probably accurate, and the incident itself is, beyond question, historical. The metropolis of the Picts of Ulster was burned, and their power permanently shattered by "the three Collas"[2] of the Heremonian or Scottish line of kings. Thenceforward, the Pictish possessions in Ulster were narrowed down to a strip of country, now represented by County Down and the southern half of Antrim.

After the Ulster Scots became predominant in that quarter, they were known by the Annalists, but not invariably, as the Ulaid or Ulta, and their kings as kings of Uladh (Ulster); while the Picts were always called the Cruithne, and their rulers, kings of the Cruithne. The Annals of Ulster have preserved a record of the persistent antagonism between the two peoples: they contain also a record of instances in which they united to meet a common foe.

Nothing proves more clearly the historical character of the destruction of Emania than the bitter memory left for many centuries by the event. Private grievances are frequently effaced by time; but national wrongs never. They may be atoned for by subsequent goodwill, but the memory of them is ineradicably engraven on the hearts of a people. They may be forgiven; but they are not forgotten. There are few more remarkable instances of this fact, than the tenacity with which the Picts of Ulster continued to preserve the memory of the burning of Emania. Dr. Hyde states that after a period of nine hundred years, the Irians (or Cruithne) refused to make common cause with the other Irish against the Normans at the battle of Downpatrick in 1260; so

[2] According to Ferguson (*The Teutonic Name System*, p. 19), Colla is a *Saxon* name. The MacDonalds are descended from one of the Collas.

bitterly did they resent the treatment their ancestors had received at the hands of the Heremonians, and so deeply did the burning of Emania continue to rankle in their hearts.[3]

It is to be observed that the Cruithne, in their later possessions, were confined to the part of the north of Ireland that is now by far the most prosperous corner in the whole country; for it includes the great City of Belfast. It is to be observed, further, that the people inhabiting that corner differed then, as they differ to-day, in certain respects from their neighbours. The Ulster question, it would appear, is not one of to-day; nor of yesterday. Its roots may stretch further back, even, than the times of the Tudors or the Stuarts. For the seeds of a mutual antagonism were sown in the smoking ruins of Emania nearly sixteen hundred years ago.

We have now to consider, briefly, the racial affinities of the Cruithne or Ulster Picts. To what stock did they belong? What language did they speak? That their language differed from Gaelic is certain. One word, and one only of their vocabulary, has been handed down to us: the word *cartit*. It is quoted by Cormac as meaning "a pin that is put on its shank." It is equated with the Gaelic *dealg*, which means a pin and a thorn, a suggestive conjunction, reminiscent of the statement by Tacitus, that the ancient Germans commonly used a thorn for a pin. This Cruthinian word *cartit* has puzzled philologists considerably, for *cartit* means a shanked pin in no known language. There is little doubt that it is a compound word, as indeed Cormac's interpretation implies. The latter half of the word, viz., *tit*, is plainly, I think, the Icelandic *tittr*, pin, and *car* is the Cymric *gar*, Gaelic *carr*, meanig a shank. *Cartit* is thus a hybrid; and hybridism, as we shall see, is characteristic of the Pictish language. It is a sure sign of the mixed

[3] *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 66.

races of which the Irish and the Scottish nations alike are composed.

The Scandinavian [4] origin of the Cruithne would appear to have been believed in by their neighbours, for the rampart built by the Picts as a protection against the pressure of the Scots, is known traditionally as the "Danes' Cast." This rampart—the great Wall of Ulidia—extended in separate sections through the valley of the Newry River for a distance of over twenty miles. It proved an adequate barrier against the aggressiveness of the Scots, whose occupatiou, under the three Collas, of the territory comprised in Armagh, Monaghan, and Louth, (subsequently known as Oriel) was certainly effective, though their hold on the rest of northern Ulster was apparently less firm.

[4] I use the word "Scandinavian," throughout, in its philological sense, that is, to include the Danes. Scandinavia, strictly speaking, excludes Denmark.

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which the people, afterwards collectively called the Picts, were grouped early in the third century. The *Mætæ* are placed nearer Antonine's Wall than the Caledonians, and the description by Dio warrants the belief that they embraced the tribes south of the Grampians as far as the Wall. Towards the end of the fourth century, a similar division is found, as described by Ammian Marcellin. He calls the Caledonians *Di*-Caledonians, perhaps in allusion to the racial admixture—Cymric and Teutonic—of that people, and gives the second group of people the name of Vecturiones, in which name may possibly appear the Latin form of the Scandinavian *Vættir*.[3] Sir J. Y. Simpson, in his essay on *The Cat-stane*, made the suggestion (p. 40) that the Vecturiones may have been Saxon allies of the Picts,[4] who had then amalgamated with the latter. It can scarcely be doubted that in the fourth century, the Southern Picts were a mixture of Scandinavians and Saxons, with a Celtic element of more or less unimportance.

I have shown that there is adequate ground for believing that the Picts got their name from the people upon whom

[3] I am well aware that the name is now almost invariably written as "Verturiones." Sir John Rhys introduced this form into England, and his authority has been sufficient to establish it. He founds the emendation on a statement in Eyssenhardt's edition of Ammian, that the form Vecturiones comes from Gelonius, who lived in the sixteenth century, and that it has no MS. authority (*Celtic Britain* (1884), p. 84). Sir John Rhys was "delighted" with this discovery, but he does not tell us how it has been proved conclusively that "r" is right and "c" is wrong. Until this has been done, there does not seem to be sufficient ground for rejecting Vecturiones and adopting Verturiones. George Buchanan, one of the best Latin scholars of his day, uses the form Vecturiones; and he lived in the sixteenth century as well as Gelonius. Is it likely that he copied from Gelonius? If Verturiones is, in fact, the correct form, it may be referred to either of two Cymric words, viz., *gwerthyr*, a fortification, or, with greater likelihood, to *gwerydre*, cultivated land (or an inhabited region) as distinguished from the great Caledonian Forest.

[4] His object was to prove that the Cat-stane in Edinburghshire commemorates Vetta, the grandfather of Hengist and Harsa.

they intruded in Scotland. These people spoke a Cymric tongue, and it was probably they who gave the name of Petts or Peths to the Scandinavian newcomers, as denoting that they were devoted to elf-worship. It is impossible to say whether or not the Celts had elf-beliefs before they came in contact with the Teutons, but it is certain that this creed was an integral part of the Teutonic mythology.

The Gothic kin of Odin were called Asas, or gods, from their theogony (*aesir*, gods), and the national name "Goth" itself, not improbably, has its origin from the same source.[5] Similarly, the temple-priests of the Scandinavians were called *godar*, or gods. Here, therefore, we appear to have a parallel case of confusion between real people and their mythology. And between the Gothic people and the Dananns, Cruithnes, and Picts, there was a racial connexion that makes the coincidence all the more remarkable. But it must be something more than a coincidence that these three peoples are shown by their names (Luprachan, Cruithne, and Pett), and by the traditions concerning them, to be associated with elves so unmistakably. And I cannot see any explanation of this undoubted fact except the one I have offered.

Briefly, therefore, my suggestion is that the Tuatha de Danann, the Cruithne, the Picts, and the Scandinavians were racially indistinguishable from one another, possessing the same system of gods and elves, the same reputation for magic, poetry, and piracy, and the same physical characteristics of bigness and fairness. They were probably called "the men of the elves" by the Cymric inhabitants of these islands, and in course of time, the original application of the name was forgotten; the traditions concerning their first arrival in Britain and Ireland became blurred, indistinct, and finally hope-

[5] The earliest form of the national name *gut-thiuda* or "god-people," as found in a Milan MS., seems to give colour to that view. No satisfactory alternative has ever been suggested.

lessly confused. That would account for tradition using the same name without discrimination for elves, and for the race of men who worshipped the elves. The Picts of Scotland disappeared so suddenly and mysteriously from history, that it is not surprising to find this confusion in name between the "pichts," or elves, and those who brought a knowledge of the "pichts' to the country that is now Scotland.

I must, however, deal briefly with the obvious objection to my theory, that the proofs of self-painting by the Picts clearly point to the true origin of their name. To that my answer is, that even if it were proved beyond any question that they painted their bodies, that fact would not necessarily vitiate the etymology I have suggested. But were the Picts actually tattooers or self-painters?

The evidence of their receiving their name from the practice of tattooing rests to some extent upon a statement by Claudian (fourth century), that the Picts, whom he describes as an "engraved" people, were appropriately so named. A careful study of the passage and its context seems to reveal a play upon words; a weakness from which Roman poets were not exempt. Claudian, in fact, punned upon the name *Picti*, and by so doing showed that he did not believe that the national name meant the "painted" people. Had he so believed, the pun would have been pointless.

Before the Picts were first named by historians, the practice of tattooing in Britain is mentioned by two writers of the third century (Herodian and Solinus), and it may be that the question whether the Picts were really tattooers or not, must be resolved by the weight to be attached to their statements. Herodian (Book III.) in his account of the campaign of Severus, writes of certain Britons who dyed their skins with the pictures of various kinds of animals; and that they wore no clothes so that these pictures could be seen. He tells us, also, that in certain parts of the country, the

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description of the Picts, seems to have improved upon his original. Solinus copied from Pliny, and added fictions of his own; Isidore copied from Solinus; and the Pictish Chronicle seems to have copied from Isidore. The Gothic Jordanes, too, who wrote in the previous (sixth) century, was an unblushing borrower. In his description of the Caledonians, he copied from Tacitus almost literally. But his statement that the Caledonians painted their bodies with iron-red is from some other source. It has certainly no authority from Tacitus.

Not one of these foreign writers had first-hand knowledge of Britain or its inhabitants; and statements founded partly upon hearsay, partly upon an interpretation of the writings of other authors, and largely upon a desire for effect, cannot be accepted unhesitatingly as statements of fact. Those authors whose information is above suspicion, have nothing to say about a tattooed people in the north of Britain. Tacitus, who got his facts from Agricola, his father-in-law, does not tell us that the Caledonians were painted. In his *Germania,* he directs attention to the fact that the German tribe Harii painted their bodies, with the object of inspiring their enemies with terror. If the Caledonians whom Agricola defeated had been painted, Tacitus could hardly have failed to mention the fact. Nor is it conceivable that if the Picts of the sixth and seventh centuries were tattooers, no allusion to the practice should have been made by Gildas, or Bede, or Adamnan. Yet these authors lived in the same island as the Picts, while their contemporaries, Isidore and Jordanes, who described this people as tattooers, were more ignorant of the conditions existing in the Britain of their day, than is the average Briton of the present time, of the conditions existing in Central Africa. The silence of the native authors is arresting. Obviously they knew nothing about the figured animals so glibly described by foreign writers.

The silence of Tacitus makes one suspect, that even the practice of woad-staining may have fallen into desuetude among the Britons before the end of the first century. The "engravings" and "paintings" associated with the Picts may have been on their shields, not on their bodies.[6] A young Scandinavian was given a white and smooth buckler when he entered upon an active career as a warrior. This buckler was significantly named "The Shield of Expectation." When, by signal exploit, he had given proof of his valour, he was permitted to paint or carve upon the shield an emblematical figure, expressive of his own inclinations or his deeds of prowess. None but princes or persons distinguished by their services were allowed to carry shields adorned with any symbol; and consequently the owners of these painted or carved shields were held in high honour. It is remarkable that this practice, or some resemblance to it, has a place in the traditions of the Scottish Highlanders. Mr. J. F. Campbell found it in some of the stories collected by him. In these stories, "the shields of the warriors are *Bucaideach*, bossed; *Balla-bhreachd*, dotted and variegated; *Bara-chaol*, with slender point, with many a picture to be seen on it, a lion, a *cremhinach*, and a deadly snake; and such shields were figured on the Iona tombs."[7] It is by no means unlikely that some of the animal designs on the old sculptured stones of Scotland, may represent a survival of this old custom of shield-painting. The prevalence of the custom may explain the terse and cryptic allusion of Tacitus (Agricola c. 29) to the honorary "decorations" borne by the veteran Caledonians, who were renowned in war. Calgacus, the Caledonian leader, was the most distinguished for birth and valour among the chieftains, and was therefore entitled to the leadership of the normally independent tribes.

[6] See Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* (Percy), p. 167. The practice is confirmed by the Swedish sagas collected by Anders Fryxell.

[7] *West Highland Tales*, i., cx.

There is still another consideration. The Pictones of Poitou bore the same name as the Picts of Britain. The latter are frequently called Pictones by the Irish Annalists, and the Pictones of Gaul are called "Pictes" in Roquefort's Glossary. No suggestion has ever been made that the people of Poitou were tattooers. They are usually believed to have been a Celtic people. But equally, perhaps, with the Vectones of Pliny (the Vettones of Strabo), a people near the Tagus, they have been Teutonic settlers of whose migration to the west there is no record.[8] The Pictones had a fleet which was impressed by Cæsar, and this fact suggests a maritime origin. Perhaps they were Suiones or Swedes, whose naval force is specially remarked upon by Tacitus. But whatever their origin, there is not the slightest ground for associating their name with the idea of self-painting.

The conclusion to be drawn from all these considerations is, that the proofs that the Picts were tattooers are unsatisfactory, if not altogether lacking in weight. As a corollary of these dubious or worthless proofs, force is added to the view that the name *Picti* is simply a Roman corruption of a name similar in sound, but having an entirely different signification. And I have already stated what, in my opinion, the word really signifies.

[8] Even in the time of Cæsar, says Dunham (p. 276, sec. 1), the tribes on the maritime coast from the Rhine to the Baltic were beginning to learn the piratical life.

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their own tongue, calling themselves and their Celtic partners by a common name, the Gaedel, or co-sharers, to express this union of races, languages, and interests.

I propose at this point to examine briefly some of the place-names of Ireland, with the view of tracing them to their sources. They are all "Gaelic" names, but, as will be shown, they are derived apparently, some from Cymric, others from Teutonic, and a few from Latin roots, and they afford a useful example of the manner in which these roots have been incorporated in the mixed language known as Gaelic.[2] The most familiar of these Irish place-names, mostly prefixes, have been selected for analysis.

Achadh: usual form *Agh* (*Ach* and *Auch* in Scotland). This appears to be the same word as *haugh*, frequently found in the Scottish Lowlands. It is derived from O. Ic.[3] *hagi*, pasture, A. S. *haga*, a field.

Cym. affinity lacking. This prefix is further discussed in the Scottish place-names.

Ait: generally found in Ireland as a prefix: *Atty*, a dwelling-place.

This is derived from a characteristically Teutonic root: Goth. *aihts;* A. S. *âhte;* Eng. *aught* or o*ught;* Scots. *aucht;* all meaning a possession. No Cym. affinity, but found as a borrow in Corn. *achta*, inheritance.

As a suffix, *acht* appears in Connacht or Connaught, and Keenaught, which seems a more likely etymology

[2] The word "Gaelic" is intended to embrace the language spoken by the Gael in Ireland, Scotland, and the Isle of Man, It is the same language independently developed. "The old Irish Grammarians," says Pinkerton (p. 134), "as Mr. O'Conor remarks, call the Irish tongue *Berla Tabide*, or a mixed speech."

[3] Contractions:—O. Ic. = Old Icelandic. A. S. = Anglo-Saxon. Cym. = Cymric. Gae. = Gaelic. O. Sax. = Old Saxon. Corn. = Cornish. Ger. = German. Lat. = Latin. Goth. = Gothic. Eng. = English.

than *icht* progeny, or descendants. The latter comes from Cym. *Ach*, a pedigree, sometimes written *Iachas*.[4]

Ail or *Allt*: a rock or cliff. Cym. *Allt*, a cliff, or side of a hill.

Annagh or *Anna*: usually translated as a marsh. Perhaps connected with Cym. *Annedd*, a dwelling, and applied to settlements in marshy districts.

Ard: always interpreted as "high" or a "height." This meaning is from Lat. *Arduus* and *Arduum*. In some instances it is applied with that meaning to places that are not high, and incongruity is the result. But where Gae. *Ard*, high, or a height, or a promontory, can be legitimately employed (i.e., when warranted by the topography), there is no need to look elsewhere for a derivation.

Where such a search is necessary, the etymology is found, I think, in O. Sax. *Ard*, a dwelling. This interpretation will stand any test that may be applied. Associated with this meaning is Cym. *Ardd*, ploughed land.

The earliest use of this prefix in place-names is probably to be found in Adamnan, who uses it apparently in the sense of a dwelling, e.g., *Art-chain*, the name of a monastery founded by F*ind-chan* ("a hill," says a commentator, which "has not been identified"); *Ard-Ceannachte*, the name of a "region"; *Artdamuirchol* (Ardnamurchan), the dwelling by the sea-sound, or

[4] As Cym. *Ach*, a pedigree, becomes Gae. *Icht*, so Cym. *Ach*, a river (fluid or water), may be the true origin of the much-disputed *Icht* in *Muir 'n Icht*, which would thus mean the River Sea, *i.e.*, the Sea of the Severn, or the Bristol Channel. This must have been the Sea originally meant by the Gael, though it is usually applied to the English Channel. "Glastonbury of the Gael," the town of the oaks (Cym. *Glasten*), was on the border of the Ichtian Sea, and Glastonbury was in mid-Somerset. (In the charters of Ine, the name appears as "Glastingae," the "gae" being the Teut. *gau*, a district or town.)

strait (between Mull and the mainland). It is called by Adamnan "a rough and rocky district" (not a rocky promontory).[5]

Ath: a ford. Of doubtful Celtic origin. It looks like a Gaelic adaptation of O. Ic. *vad* (vath), a ford, showing a Gaelic characteristic of dropping the initial letter. There is no Cym. cognate.

Bally: (Scots *Bal*), a town—the commonest prefix in Irish place-names, and supposed to be characteristically Gaelic. So it is, but it is derived apparently from a Teutonic source, and it has no Cym. cognate. For Goth. *Bal* also means a residence, and O. Ic. *Ból* means a farm, both being derived from the Goth. *Bauan*, to dwell, root *Bhû*.

Cormac equates *Baile* with *Rath*, a fort, which suggests an alternative origin for *Bally*. It may have been in the first instance the "bailey," or fortress, which protected the village, and later, as in other cases (*Dun* and *Rath*), the village itself. "Bailey" is of Latin origin (*ballium*).

Caher: a stone fort, or castle, or a town where a fort had existed. This is the Gaelic form of the Cym. *Caer*, with the same meaning.

Carn: a heap of stones, or a rocky hill. Cym. *Carn*, a heap.

Carrick and *Croagh:* a rock. Cym. *Craig*, a stone, or rock, or craig. In Wales, *Ceiriog* is the name given to some streams, probably from their stony bottom.

Cashel: Lat. *Castellum*. Eng. castle.

Cavan: a hollow. Lat. *Cavus*. Eng. cave.

Ceann: (*Kin* and *Ken*), a head, point, or cape. (Cym. *Pen*.)
(But see *Ken* and *Kin* in a later chapter.)

[5] This is, however, a doubtful name, for its form has altered considerably. It is difficult to say with certainty whether the region got its name from the promontory (*Ard*), or *vice versâ*.

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changes are rung on "back" and "corner" in translating this word when found in topography. The results are not infrequently ludicrous, and in all cases unconvincing.

By studying the topography of the places bearing the name, it will be found, both in Ireland and Scotland, that they are eminences, either conical hills, or rising ground, the place designated being at the summit. In the first category are to be placed the Coolin hills in Skye, Coulmore (great peak), and Coulbeg (little peak), in Assynt, Sutherland, all of them distinguished by a conical shape. In the second category are Coul in Ross-shire, Coull in Aberdeenshire, Culloden in Inverness-shire, and the various Culters (Cultyr, Culter, etc.), throughout Scotland (*cf.* Maryculter and Peterculter, the rising ground belonging to the churches of St. Mary and St. Peter). In Irish topography, the numerous *Cools* belong mainly to the second class.

It should be mentioned that Adamnan uses *Cul* in the sense of "rising ground" (Cuul-eilne in Iona).

Whence then is *Cul* derived? In the sense of a conical hill, it is found in Cym. *Còl*, a peak. In the sense of the summit of rising ground, it is found in O. Ic. *Kollr*, top or summit (the "K" is found in some of the Scottish place-names, *e.g.*, Kultre). Associated with these roots is the Lat. *Collis*, a hill, or rising ground.

Dal: this is usually interpreted, both in Irish and Scottish topography, as dale or valley. Even so, it must be attributed to a Teutonic source, for although *dôl* is found in Cymric with the meaning of the Eng. dale, its primary sense is that of a wind or loop. The Teutonic languages (Goth., O. Sax., and Dutch *dal*, A. S. *dæl*, O. Ic. *dalr*, mod. Ger. *thal*), all convey the

meaning of "valley." It is also found in O. Slov. *dolu*, with the same meaning.

But it is to be observed that in the topography of Teutonic countries, including England, *dal* (or *thal*), usually appears as a suffix, while in Ireland and Scotland, except in the parts occupied by the later colonies of Scandinavians, it is a prefix. The meaning of *dal* as signifying a portion or share, has already been fully discussed, and it is probable that this earlier sense, as mentioned by Bede, may be (at any rate in many instances) the primary meaning of the root in Irish and Scottish topography. It points to the sharing of the lands by the Gael, and in view of the fact that the most desirable lands were situated in valleys, a confusion of the two ideas is quite intelligible.

Derry (D*aire*): the early meaning of this word in Irish place-names is vouched for by Bede, who says that before St. Columba passed over into Britain, he had built a noble monastery in Ireland, "which from the great number of oaks is, in the Scottish tongue, called *Dearmach*—the Field of Oaks." By Adamnan, this place is called D*air-Mag* (Oak-plain), now Durrow. The most widely known place-name in Ireland belonging to this category is Londonderry, the "London" being tacked on to the "derry" in a charter from James I. to the merchants of London.

The word is Celtic: it is found in Cym. *Dâr*, an oak.

Desert or D*ysart*: an uninhabited place. From Lat. *Desertum*. Used in Irish and Scottish topography to denote places chosen by monks for solitary exercises of devotion. Sometimes corrupted to *Isert* in Ireland, and occasionally (by metathesis) perhaps as *Ester*.

D*rum* or *Drom*: a ridge, from Cym. *Trum*, a ridge, or back. A common prefix both in Irish and Scottish

place-names, sometimes in the form of Drummond or Drumen, which, by substituting the Gaelic "d" for the Cymric "t," is the same as the Cym. *truman*, a ridge, and *trumain*, ridged.

Dun: an unmistakably Celtic prefix in Irish and Scottish place-names. Yet it is a close cognate of A. S. *tûn*, Eng. town. The original meaning of the latter is that of enclosure (O. Sax. and A. S. *têin*, O. Ic. *tún*), hence the added idea of a fortification, associated primitively with an enclosure.

It would appear that the meaning of the word *dun* has passed through two stages: (1), a hill-fort, or simply a fortress; (2), a town. The Eng. "borough" or (Scots) "burgh" seems to have passed through similar stages. The ultimate source of this word is Teut. *berg*, a hill, cognate with Celt. *brig*. A "burgh" was originally a hill-fort. Later, when a village settlement had been formed around the hill-fort, a burgh, or (Eng.) borough, meant a fortified town; and in modern times, when forts were no longer required, simply a town.

The Gae. *dun* is from the Cym. *din*, a hill-fort, or a fortress. It was not an uncommon suffix in Gaulish place-names, e.g., Lugdunum (Lyons), where we have the Latin form of the word. *Dun*, and *burgh*, and *broch* (the last a metathetic form of the Scand. *borg*, while the Irish *brugh* is a methathetic form of *burgh*) are still used to designate ancient forts, but not necessarily hill-forts. Sometimes *din* and *dun* are used to denote a steep, round hill: a hill suitable for a fortress, or believed to have formed the site of one.

Eilean: an island. Applied generally, though by no means invariably, to the smaller isles. To the larger islands the word usually given is *Innis* or *Inch*, both in Ireland and Scotland. Now we have here incontestable evi-

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tained in modern Gaelic, the other meaning of "meadow" or "swamp" having been lost. It will be found that the place-name, "Fearn" (simply or in combination), in Ireland and Scotland aptly denotes a meadow, originally, no doubt, a swamp.

Fin or F*ionn*: fair, or white, or clear, and applied thus to place-names. It is, in this sense, a cognate of Cym. *gwyn*, though it is radically related to "white" (especially O. Ic. *vitr*), with an intrusive "n." Gaelic "Find" (older V*ind*), is properly applied to rivers whose water is characterised by clearness. (See Ptolemy's *Buvinda*, previously analysed.)

When applied to ridges or slopes (e.g., Findrum and Findlater), this meaning is inadmissible. We have here either Cym. F*fin*, a boundary, signifying, as was frequently the case, the division of property by means of mountain ridges; or with greater probability, O. Ic. *Vin* pasture, O. Fris, F*enne*, pasture-land (*cf*. Cym. *gwaen*, a meadow).

Gabhal (*Goul* and G*owl*): a fork. (*Cf*. Goole in Yorks., which is on the fork of two streams). Cym. *Gafyl*; Ger. *Gabel*; A. S. *Geaful*; Dutch *Gaffel*; Ic. *Gaffall*, all meaning a fork. It is difficult to say whether Cymric has borrowed from Teutonic, or *vice versâ*. The primitive root is obscure.

G*arbh* (*Gar* and *Garra*): rough. Cym. G*arw*, rough; it also means a torrent, being thus applicable to river-names.

G*arry*: Cym. *Garrd*, garden. This appears to be a Celtic loan from a widely diffused Teutonic class of words (O. Ic. *Gardr*; A. S. *Geard*; O. French *Gardin* or *Jardin*, derived from a German origin), all having the fundamental idea of an enclosure. Sometimes applied to the names of farms. G*ort*, *Gart*, and *Garth* belong to the same class.

Glaise or G*las*: grey, blue, or green, for all three colours are comprehended, and Cym. *Glâs* has the same diversity. The woad used by the ancient Britons for painting themselves was known to the Romans by two names, *glastum* and *vitrum*, both words having a reference to glass. The colour of common glass is a bluish green, and Mr. Fox Talbot points out the curious circumstance that in French, *verre* (glass) and *vert* (green) have the same sound.[6] He concludes that the English word "glass" comes from the Celtic *glâs*. This is more than doubtful, for the evidence of Tacitus seems to show that it is derived from the O. Teutonic word for amber (*glese*), a shining substance, which could easily give its name to glass when it came into use.

But in topography the meaning either of blue-green or of glass is clearly impossible. The word is applied to small rivers or streams, and, it would seem, for the same reason as glass received its name, that is, because of their shining surface. The word in this sense is certainly from the Teutonic root *glas*, to shine, which is found in German topography with the same meaning as the Irish and Scottish *glas* (e.g., Glisbach). It may be objected that Cym. *clais* means a rivulet. But that would appear to be an imported meaning, for its original sense is that of a stripe or bruise. G*làs*, a shining surface, is found in Welsh, evidently a loan word from the Teutonic root.

Gobha, Goe, Gow, G*owan,* and G*own:* a fairly common suffix in Irish and Scottish names. It is always interpreted as "smith" (e.g., Ballygow, Balnagowan, the blacksmith's town). Now the blacksmith was, no doubt, an important person in ancient Ireland and Scotland, but hardly, one would suppose, sufficiently so to make him an outstanding figure in topography. Rather must

[6] *Cf.* Cym. *gwydyr*, which means both "glass" and "green."

we look for the root in the common Teut. *gau, govia,* a district. Ballygow and Balnagowan would thus signify the district village, which is surely what these Ballygows are now, and always have been. (But see "Bally" and "Rath.") The name Ardgowan, having a similar meaning, bears out the derivation of *Ard,* dwelling, previously given.

Innis or *Ennis:* an island. Already discussed under *Eilean.*

Leitar or *Leitir:* (usually in the form of *Letter,* both in Ireland and Scotland), the slope of a hill. Cym. *Llethyr,* a slope (Ger. *Leiter,* Eng. ladder, that which slopes or leans); Ger. *Leite,* slope or declivity; Gothic *hleida.*

Linne or *Lin:* a pool or lake. A suffix in some Irish names, the most familiar being Dublin. Cym. *Llyn.* But O. Welsh *Linn* also denotes a marsh, a related meaning.

Lough or *Loch* (Scotland). Cym. *Llwch,* an inlet, a lake. But the source is probably the Teut. root, *Lek* (*Lak*), watery, and especially O. Ic. *Lögr,* water.

Magh, May, or *Moy:* a plain, or field. Cym. *Mai* and *Maes,* Ger. *matt,* Eng. mead or mede (*cf.* Cym. *Ma,* a place).[7]

Mam or *Maum,* Ireland and (rarely) Scotland: a round hill. (Lat. *Mamma.*) Sometimes applied in Ireland and Scotland to a mountain pass.

Mon, Mona, and *Money: Money* is a frequent prefix. It is usually taken from *muine,* a brake or shrubbery. But all the names in this class may be related to O. Norse *Móinn,* dwelling on a moor. *Mon* and *Min* in Scotland belong to the same category. (Gae. *monadh,* a moor; *mòine,* a bog; Cym. *mawn,* peat, is probably related).

[7] The Cym. form *Mai* is found in Scotland, *e.g.*, May, Moy, Cambus o' May, Rothiemay, etc.

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"wraith," also written "warth"). The O. Ic. form is *varda*, to watch over, to protect. The Irish raths (forts), are usually associated by tradition with the Danes, "Danish raths" being a common conjunction. *Cf.* A.S. *wraeth*, a fortification or enclosure, and O. Ic. *Reitr*, a place marked out. The latter word is associated in Scotland with "burghs" or forts, e.g., Rattar Brough (Caithness), Rattra (Borgue). Rattray (Blairgowrie and Peterhead), is probably from the same source.

But it is a large assumption to suppose that all the Irish raths were forts. On the contrary, *Rath* signified homestead in the Irish Laws (*Celtic Scotland*, III., p. 243), and is therefore related to Cym. *Rhath*, a cleared spot, which, in turn, seems to have been borrowed from a Teutonic source. *Rath* is found in a number of German place-names. In O. Ic. *Rjódr* means an open space in a forest. Most of the "Raths" in Irish topography must have got their name for this primary reason.

Ros or *Ross:* a promontory and (in the South of Ireland) a wood. Scottish topography has the word in both senses, as well as with the meaning of a moor or marsh. Cym. (Welsh and Cornish) *Rhos*.

The source of *Ross*, a promontory, is probably Cym. *Rhus*, a start or tail (cf. Start Point in Devonshire). *Ross*, a wood, may be related to *Rhos*, a marsh. (In Cormac's Glossary, further meanings are given of *Ross*, viz.: "flaxseed"—a meaning still alive—and "duck-meat.")

Sean (*Shan*): translated as "old" (Lat. *Senex*). But this is surely a doubtful etymology. Preferably this prefix in place-names is to be referred to a Teutonic word signifying herdsman (*Senno*, Gothic *Sanja*, cowherd), and also pasture (*Senne*). Thus Shanbo and Shanbally may have been originally applied to a town pasture, and Shanmullagh would mean hill-pasture.

Sgor and *Sgeir* (Scuir and Skerry): a sea-rock, from O. Ic. *Sker*, a rock in the sea—a common name for rocks, especially on the west coast of Scotland. *Scar* and *Scor* in England.

Sliabh (*Slieve*): a common name in Ireland (it is rare in Scotland), for a mountain or hill. It is usually, if not invariably, applied to a conical height, just as *Mam* (which see), is applied to a round hill. Why is this?

Sliabh is a Gaelic cognate of "slope," which is a derivation of the word "slip," the root-idea of the latter word being found in "slippery." A hill with sloping sides necessarily has a pointed apex. Now, the English word "slip" is derived from a Teutonic base, *sleip* or *sleup*, to slip or glide (Ger. *schleifen*, O. H. G. *sliofan*, Goth. *sliupan*), and a Cym. affinity is lacking.

Sliabh enters as freely into mountain nomenclature in Ireland as *Ben* does in Scotland. The former has a Teutonic and the latter a Cymric origin. Indirectly these facts imply that the Gaelic language was built up in Ireland (*Sliabh* probably displaced the Cym. *Pen*), and transplanted in Scotland, where, however, except in isolated instances, the Teut. *Sliabh* failed to oust the earlier Cym. *Pen* or *Ben*. If this hypothesis is accepted, it is difficult to evade the force of the reasoning that ascribes a Teutonic element to the very texture of the Gaelic language. Mountain nomenclature is frequently both ancient and philologically suggestive.

Sron: a nose, and consequently applied to a promontory. From Cym. *Trwyn*, a point or nose; O. Ic. *Trjóna* (perhaps a borrowed word). Here *S* is substituted for *T*.

Sruth or *Sruthair*: a stream. The English word "stream" and its various Teutonic affinities are derived from the Sans. root *Sru*, to flow, but it is difficult to dissociate the Gaelic word from Cym. Y*strad*, from which "Strath," so common in Scotland, is taken. The Gaelic

form of Y*strad* is *Srath*, and the "t" appears to be similarly eliminated in *Sruth*. Originally applied to a valley or strath, it may have acquired a secondary meaning by being applied to the stream flowing through the strath. Confirmation of this view seems to be afforded by Corn. *Strêt* or *Streyth*, stream. Conversely, Y*strad* may come from the same root as stream: *Sru*, to flow, i.e., a place through which a stream flows.

Stuaic (*Stag* and *Stook*): an isolated rock. From O. Ic. *Stakkr*, a stack or cape.

Suidhe (*See* and *Sea*): a seat or settlement. From O. Ic. *Setr*, seat or residence, with the allied forms in all the Teutonic dialects. (In the Gaelic word, the consonants are mute.)

In Ireland, says Dr. Joyce, hills, mostly crowned by carns or moats are called *Suidhe*—F*inn*, i.e., Finn's seat or resting-place. In his "Ossian," Macpherson makes use of this fact in Gaelic topography by showing us Fionn on his mountain-top. There is a mythical element here, which might be employed by mythologists to prove that Fionn was a solar deity. So, too, in proving the mythic character of King Arthur, they might point to his "seats" like those of Fionn. It is a remarkable fact that the mythology of the Finns contains a similar idea in relation to Kaleva, a word that means "rocky" from Finnic *Kallio*, cliff, Lapp. G*alle*, *Kallo* (*Gallagh* in Irish means a place full of rocks). Kaleva is a giant, evidence of whose strength is found by the people in blocks of granite that they believe him to have hurled, and in huge rocks that they call his *seats*. A "Son of Kalev" is called "Child of the Rock." (*Comparetti*, p. 209). But a much more rational explanation can be given of these "Finn," "Arthur," and "Kaleva" Seats.

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Tìr: land. (Lat. *Terra*.) Cym. *Tîr*.

Tobar (*Tipper* and *Tibber*): a well, from Cym. *Dwfyr*, water. O. Gael. Do*bur* or *Dobhar*.

Torr or *Tor:* a heap or tower (*Turrus*). Cym. *Twr*.

Traigh (*Tray*): a strand (*Tractus*). Cym. *Traeth*, a tract, or sand.

Tuaim (*Toom* or *Tom*): a tumulus. Cym. *Tom*, a mound.

Tulach (*Tully, Tulla, Tullow, Tallow*): a small hill. Cym. *Twlch*, a knoll. Corn. *Tallic, Tallock, Tallach*, what is highly placed.

Uaimh (*Wem* and *Weem*): a cave. Cym. *Wm*, hollow.

Uisce or *Uisge* (numerous forms): water. Cym. *Wysg*, current or stream.

The foregoing analysis of typical place-names in Ireland shows conclusively that the people who bestowed those names upon the places where they settled, spoke, some Cymric, others Teutonic, and a few Latin, the last element being plainly post-Patrician, and mainly ecclesiastical in its incidence. The amalgamation of these elements is shown by a further examination of Irish topography, which reveals the existence of many hybrids—Teutonic prefixes, and Celtic suffixes, or *vice versâ*—among the names. The importance of this evidence in solving the ethnological problem presented by the Gaelic race and language can hardly be over-estimated. The suggestion that these Irish place-names merely show affinities with Cymric and Teutonic words, without being directly derived from them, fails entirely to meet the case. Obviously, the names are not cognates, but derivatives.

In the domain of anthropology, there is to be seen in Ireland the undoubted prevalence of the Nordic or North Teutonic type, mingling with the classical type of the Gallic Celts. It has been shown that the pre-Celtic and pre-

Teutonic types are also well represented; but the question of the original composition of the Gael and the Gaelic language is not directly affected by the ethnology of their predecessors, with whom there was no amalgamation. In the domain of archæology, too, a Teutonic connexion with Ireland has been proved to exist; and Irish legend betrays distinct points of contact with Teutonic folklore: as I have shown, there is a remarkable resemblance between certain customs primitively observed alike by Teutons and Gael. But nowhere is the Celto-Teutonic blend so clearly revealed as in Irish topography. And place-names, rightly interpreted, are unassailably conclusive.

There is little difficulty in finding analogies for this mixture of peoples and languages, the closest being perhaps the coalescence of races in France on conditions remarkably similar to those postulated for Ireland. Just as the Scots, a Teutonic people, gave the name of Scotia to Ireland (and later to Scotland), and imported Teutonic elements into the Cymric language spoken by the Celtic people with whom they coalesced; so the Franks, also a Teutonic people, gave the name of France to part, and ultimately the whole of Gaul, and introduced Teutonic words into the Celto-Roman language spoken by the Gallic people whom they subdued. In one sense, the settlements of the Visigoths and Burgundians in Gaul show even a closer analogy to that of the Scots in Ireland. For while the Frankish monarchy, in alliance with the Church, each for its own ends, aimed primarily at conquest, the Visigoths and Burgundians sought a peaceable settlement among the Gallic people. "They shared lands and goods," says Dean Kitchin,[8] "with the older owners. . . . He (the German), took half of all forests and gardens, two-thirds of all cultivated lands, one-third of all slaves, and so settled down in peace."

[8] *Hist. of France*, i., 60.

Here we have conditions entirely favourable to a mixture of languages. The Teutons found the prevailing language in Gaul to be a Low Latin dialect, necessarily interspersed with Celtic words, the latter being relics of a language which had been renounced by a conquered and decadent people in favour of the tongue of their conquerors. The submersion of the Celtic language in Gaul, by Latin, is a striking fact in the study of races. It was a sign of the decay of nationalism, which itself was the outcome of a loss of independence, and the deadening lethargy induced by the hopelessness of its recovery. In such circumstances, subdued peoples mould themselves gradually, but surely, in the shape of their masters; and in time, assimilation, more or less complete, generally takes place in language, customs, and sympathies, if equal liberties and privileges are enjoyed by the different racial units which comprehend the population.

An apparent anomaly here suggests itself in the fact that the Teutonic tribes conquered the West by force of arms, but instead of absorbing and assimilating the Western nations, were themselves absorbed and assimilated, leaving only indistinct traces of their Germanic origin. So it was in France; so it was in Spain; so it was in Ireland. The explanation appears to be that, primarily, the Teutonic invaders were not settlers—they were plunderers. When they settled, they married the women of the country, and the mother-tongue of their children gradually displaced the father-tongue, as it will always do quite naturally. The Anglo-Saxon settlements in England were on a different footing. Originating in the arrival of bands of adventurers, whose swords were for sale, the immigration developed into an organised scheme of colonisation, in which the Teutonic wives of the settlers were included. This would appear to be proved by the testimony of Bede, who tells us that Old Anglia was said to have remained depopulated (desert) from the time of the emigration to Britain "to this day." Thus

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goths runs through the Latin texture, interspersed with some Basque remains.[9]

In Spain, the same Teutonic elements are found in the spoken languages. In Catalan, the Biscayan Latin is mixed with Gothic, as is the purer Latin in Castile. In Portugal, Suevic mingles with the main West Latin stream.

Again, when the composition of the English language is considered, it is easily seen how the main Teutonic fabric—itself a mixture of Low German with important Scandinavian dialects—has been mingled with a comparatively small Celtic element, borrowed from a conquered race, and a Norman-French element of profound importance imposed by a conquering people. Romance, the language of the Court, the Church, the Law, the Schools, and the Army, never became the language of the people. There was no real blend between the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons, and the attempt to force a foreign language on an unwilling nation was foredoomed to failure. Of necessity, communication between the two peoples had to be carried on by means of a double vocabulary, and the two languages were mutually affected by the contact. But in the end, the Anglo-Saxon of the masses triumphed, and the Romance of the classes was incorporated in, and assimilated with, the Teutonic dialects, to form, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with Latin and other elements, the English language. English would be a comparatively poor language did it consist of an Anglo-Saxon element only, instead of being the richest in the world by its capacity for absorption. The purest languages are the poorest.

And so it is with the Gaelic language. The power of incorporating foreign elements shown by the original Celtic, is maintained to the present day by the addition of English

[9] Roquefort's Glossary explains the "Walonne" language as *langue primitive des François et qui s'altéra bientôt par la jonction du Tudesque et du Latin* (ii., p. 737).

words in a Gaelic dress that represent new inventions and new ideas. Thus, the enrichment of the language by the importation of foreign words has proceeded apace with what a purist would, with some propriety, regard as its disfigurement. A loss in purity has been accompanied by a gain in flexibility of expression, in enlargement of vision, and in facility of communication. Clearly the balance of advantage lies on the side of the language that can absorb, adapt, and incorporate.[10]

The Saxon and the Gael are not parted by the chasm that is generally believed to exist. Their nearness of kinship is proved more particularly by anthropology and philology. They have given to one another, taken from one another, profited by one another, by social contact in England, and by actual amalgamation in Ireland and Scotland. There is not, and there should not be, any real antagonism between them. Ideally, one is the complement of the other.

Throughout the Gaelic vocabulary, the same facts proclaimed by place-names are observed on analysis, and nowhere more prominently than in the numerals, which are plainly of Latin origin. These facts are sometimes partially obscured by the accumulation of phonetically useless, but grammatically convenient, consonants in the modern language; and it may be remarked here that if ever the Gaelic language is to be popularised among non-Gaelic speakers, it will be necessary to simplify it by clearing away, as far as possible, this superfluity of mute letters. It need scarcely be said that the evolution of the language has resulted in marked divergences from original forms, and that the Gaelic of the present day is as different from the

[10] In *The Welsh People* (p. 617) the authors quote, apparently with approval, O. Schrader (*Prehistoric Antiquities*, Eng. translation, p. 113), who says that "the notion of a mixed language must have more weight assigned to it than has hitherto been allowed." That is a true and pregnant statement.

oldest written Gaelic as is English from Anglo-Saxon. The numerous glosses in the oldest Irish manuscripts show that the Gaelic of the glossarists was, in turn, different from the Gaelic of an earlier date. That, of course, is only what might be expected; but among other things, it shows the absurdity of the attempts so frequently made to explain Gaelic place-names by the Gaelic of the present day. As well attempt to explain the "wicks" and "hams" of Anglo-Saxon topography by the English of the twentieth century. The Celtic element in the oldest Gaelic must have been pure Cymric. Cormac proves this by using "p" words, e.g., *prem* (Gae. *cruim*), a worm, and *map* (Gae. *mac*), a son. Thus, even by the ninth century, Gaelic had not shed entirely its Cymric characteristics.

In its grammatical structure, Gaelic has points of resemblance with the Cymric, Teutonic, and classical languages, but it has certain characteristics that are peculiarly its own. It would be beyond the scope of this work to deal with the structural formation of the language, even if I were competent to do so; but two examples may be given of marked peculiarities. One is the aversion from the initial letter "p," which, under the influence apparently of the Teutonic element in the language (as already noticed), generally becomes "c" ("k" sound), and is sometimes, as in *athar* (*pater*) eliminated altogether, as it is in Mœso-Gothic. Another remarkable characteristic is what is known as "aspiration," a device for flexion which is absent in the classical languages. This is one of the most important elements in the phonetic and grammatical structure of the language: by means of the introduction of the letter "h," the sound is softened, and the case is altered. And here it may be said, that notwithstanding the frequency of the guttural "ch" in Gaelic (another Teutonic inheritance), the general softening of consonants, and consequently gain in euphony, is

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CHAPTER XVII.

Scotland and its legendary matter—The earliest name of Scotland—The significance of the name "Alban"—The invasion of Scotland by Agricola—Who were the Caledonians?—Galgacus or Calgacus—The Caledonian tribes self-contained units—The physical features of their country—An examination of Caledonian ethnology—An analysis of the place-names mentioned by Tacitus.

SCOTLAND, rich in prehistoric monuments, is comparatively poor in legendary matter that can be separated, as a distinctive inheritance, from the imported folk-lore of Ireland. The historian of Scotland can thus take, as his starting-point, the records of reliable and contemporary writers, and, unembarrassed by confused and contradictory traditions of prehistoric peoples, construct from the scanty but sure material at his disposal a story of Scottish national life. The student of Irish affairs, before Irish history was written, is like a weary traveller wandering in a wilderness of fiction, who scans the horizon with an eager eye, looking for an oasis of fact. The student of Scottish affairs, it is true, encounters the same tangle of fiction and fact in exploring his line of country. But he recognises the legends as Irish; they have been carried across the Irish Channel; and have changed their hue; yet their true origin is undoubted. The Scota of Scottish tradition may differ from the Scota of the Irish legend; so may Gathelus or Gadel; so may Simon or Simeon Breac. But the Scottish stories are simply edited versions of the Irish originals; they are mainly the work of that indefatigable and highly patriotic collector of traditions relating to the Scottish people, John of Fordun.

What was the earliest name of Scotland? The oldest geographers made no distinction between the northern and the southern parts of Britain. They were equally compre-

hended in the earliest name of the island, Albion, and its later name, Britain. It is generally assumed that after the the name Albion as applying to the whole island fell into disuse, it survived as the name of modern Scotland. It is true that the Irish name for ancient Scotland was Alba (a form of the word against which Dr. Skene vigorously protested) or Alban, which name, it is asserted, is the same as the Albion of Aristotle, or his personator. There is one, perhaps there are two, isolated passages in ancient Irish writers which apparently suggest the application of Alban to the whole island; but the identity of Alban with Albion will require proof of a more convincing nature. The meaning of "Albion" has never been satisfactorily determined, though philologists of the present day lean to the old conception of the "chalk cliffs" as the most tenable theory, which, in lieu of a better explanation, it possibly is. But the likelihood of Scotland retaining a name with this meaning after England had lost it, is not strong.

Alban means the Highlands. It is a Cymric word, signifying "the upper part," and a cognate word seems to be furnished by O. H. Ger. *Alpun* and *Alpi* (Alps) meaning "mountain pasture." Although the modern Gael applies the name Alban to the whole of Scotland, the ancient Alban comprised a much smaller area. Albania—the Latin form of Alban—as described in a tract of the twelfth century (*De Situ Albanie*) was co-extensive with the Caledonia of Tacitus, i.e., the part of the modern Scotland that is north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. The Scots, whose slogan at the Battle of the Standard, in 1138, was "Albanich, Albanich!" were those who were afterwards known as the "ancient Scots," and the "wylde Scottis," living benorth the Firths.[1]

[1] There is evidence in the allusions of ancient writers, as well as in the direct proof furnished by old maps, that Albania was sometimes considered to be an island, the idea being that the two Firths (Forth and Clyde) actually met.

Our acquaintance with the Caledonian tribes commences with the invasion of Scotland by Agricola, of whose campaign his son-in-law, Tacitus, has left us an account, which, by reason of the conciseness of the narrative, is all too meagre. It is unfortunate that this account was not given by a writer of greater prolixity. Terseness is an admirable literary quality, but although Tacitus is the delight of the stylist, he is the despair of the ethnologist. He touched upon a number of racial questions, and settled none of them. Yet some of his statements are sufficiently precise and unambiguous. The "ruddy hair and large limbs of the Caledonians" suggested to him a "German origin." In his treatise on Germany, he states his belief that the Germans were a pure unmixed race; that a family likeness pervaded the whole; that their physical characteristics were "eyes stern and blue; ruddy hair; and large bodies."[2] When describing the inhabitants of Britain, he makes a clear distinction between the German-looking Caledonians and the rest of the inhabitants. Many attempts have been made to explain away his words, but it is not easy to evade the force of this distinction. If Tacitus is to be accepted as a reliable authority—and his father-in-law could have no object in misinforming him—we must take it as a fact that the Caledonians differed physically from the Britons, in resembling the Germans more closely.

A further question here suggests itself. Did Tacitus mean that the whole of the Caledonians north of the Firths were red-haired, big-bodied men; or was his description limited to the particular tribe that gave its name to the whole body of the inhabitants? This is an important point in determining the ethnology of northern Scotland. According to the point of view, it might be possible to argue that

[2] *Germania*, c. 4.

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or Galgacus, "the most distinguished for birth and valour among the chieftains," whom the Britons chose as their leader against Agricola. We find the name used by Adamnan in both forms (C and G being interchangeable) as "Calgach" and "Galgach" (*Roboretum Calgachi*, and D*aire Calgaich* are the old names of Derry). In modern Gaelic, the word has various meanings, but the root-idea is that of "pointed" or "stinging" (Cymric *Cola*, a point or sting, *Colp*, a dart, from which the Gaelic *Colg* or *Calg*, a spear, is apparently derived). The name Calgacus would appear to be of Cymric origin, the form being altered by Teutonic contact. It seems to mean "dart-man." It affords no certain clue to the language spoken by the person who bore the name, but it denotes the existence of a Celtic tongue in Caledonia. There is no mention of the name of the tribe to which Calgacus was attached, though the presumption is in favour of the Celyddons.

A fact that stands out clearly in the narrative of Tacitus is, that the Caledonian tribes in normal circumstances were not under the effective government of a central authority. There was no organisation that gave them the coherence of nationality. They were simply separate, self-contained units, of relatively greater or less importance, mutually independent, and probably mutually antagonistic. But the moment they were threatened by a common danger, they united for their common defence. Yet a hastily formed alliance for a temporary purpose must have placed them at such a disadvantage as made their defeat by the disciplined soldiers of Agricola (auxiliaries, with a stiffening of legions), a foregone conclusion. They were, in fact, a mob opposed to an army. A curious parallel is presented by the conditions that prevailed in the Highlands during the clan period. There was the same lack of cohesion among the clans until a common object united them; but no sooner was that object served, than the old divisions were renewed, and the old

antagonisms were re-awakened. Thus, formidable although the Highlanders frequently proved themselves in their campaigns against the Sassenach, their effectiveness was frequently neutralised—at Culloden conspicuously so—by the lack of that kind of discipline of which the basis is combination, carefully planned, and obediently executed.

The lack of inter-communication between the Highlanders in the clan days (except of a hostile nature) was due mainly to the physical features of the country in which they lived. Mountains divided them and a waste of trackless moor; and it was not until Wade's military roads were made in the first half of the eighteenth century, that a community of national feeling was established between them. If that was the case in the eighteenth century, the mutual isolation must have been much more pronounced in the first. For the country presented a dreary, unrelieved vista of marsh and forest, forest and marsh. In the great Caledonian forest, the precedent set by the Gauls and by the Britons of the south, must have been closely followed. According to Cæsar (corroborated by Strabo) the British towns were in thick woods, fenced round with a trench and rampart, where, "to avoid incursions, they retire and take refuge."

Of what race or races were the natives of Caledonia composed? That they were a homogeneous people is out of the question. Leaving out of account the people of the Palæolithic and the Old Stone Ages, the evidences of the present day provided by archæology, in conjunction with cranial characteristics and pigmentation, prove the existence of an important substratum of neolithic folk, the so-called Iberians of the chambered cairns, and the Bronze people of the short cist and stone circles.[4] The short, dark longheads are numerous in the West Highlands, in Caithness, and the Orkneys; and it is there that the chambered cairns pre-

[4] The stone circles in Scotland seem to belong to the period of transition between Stone and Bronze.

dominate. The taller and fairer broadheads, on the other hand, are mainly in the north-east counties, where the beaker finds, associated with the brachycephalic skulls and the oldest Bronze remains, are thickly clustered in the map prepared by the Hon. John Abercromby.[5] This map shows that while in western Scotland, pottery of the beaker class was found in a few sporadic sites only, there are numerous beaker sites in the south of England and all along the east coast of England and Scotland, as far as Sutherland, with a group in central England and some isolated instances in Wales. The conclusion seems to be that these beaker-men worked their way up the east coast from the south. At any rate, Mr. Abercromby's conclusion is, that although there are variations in the types of ceramic, there was probably no difference between the people who made them.

The prehistoric factors in Caledonian ethnology must not therefore be overlooked, but even then, we are only on the threshold of the question. Who were the big red-headed men of whom Tacitus has given us a tantalising glimpse; and if, as I have assumed, his description was confined to a section of the people in northern Scotland, what were the racial affinities of the remainder, excluding the Stone and Bronze elements? It may be said at once that to this question no final answer can be given. We can however look for some guidance to the few place-names that Tacitus has left on record. Here, again, it must be premised that even if it be possible to reach the sources of those names with tolerable certainty, they only prove that the language from which they are derived was spoken by a people who, at one time (not necessarily in the first century) inhabited the places concerned.

These place-names are only four in number, three of them (Clota, Bodotria, and Taus or Tavaus) being the names of

[5] *Proc. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, vol. xxxviii.

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seems to bear out the derivation I have suggested for Bodotria.[6]

Tava or *Tavaus* (sometimes read as *Tanaus*): is clearly of Cymric origin. It is derived from *Tafu*, to spread, a root found in Welsh river-names, and applied to rivers having a wide or spreading mouth. It is found in Ptolemy's *Tava*, which is clearly the Tay. But the Tava of Tacitus cannot be the Tay. When, in A.D. 80 (the third year of his campaigns), Agricola encountered "new tribes," he had not yet penetrated as far as the Forth. It was not until the following summer that he built his line of forts between the Clyde and the Forth, after an effective occupation of all the country south of the Firths. Therefore we must look for his Tava between the Humber (the country north of which he conquered in A.D. 79), and the Forth.

The Tava of Tacitus is probably the Tweed. The Teviot contains the name, its earliest forms being *Teiwi* and *Tefe*. The suffix "ot" is the Cym. *ach*, a fluid or river (O. Gae. *oich*, water), for "ch" and "th" in old documents being similar, they are frequently found to interchange in names. The oldest form of Forteviot in Perthshire was Fothuirtabaicht, and its later forms were Ferteuyoth and Forteviot; Elliot (Forfar) is in its oldest forms Elloch and Eloth; Kenneth was sometimes written Cinacha and Kenaucht; and so on. The name Teviot therefore means "the spreading water." But that description is only applicable to the mouth of the Tweed, of which river the Teviot is a tributary, though a tributary nearly equal in importance to the parent stream.

I suggest as a probable solution of the difficulty, that in the first century, the river had not yet received its name of the Tweed, but was called the *Tefe* right down to Berwick. This would appear to be confirmed by the etymology of the word Tweed (earliest forms Tuidus, Tede, etc.), which

[6] *Myrkva-fjordr* appears in the *Heimskringla* as a place-name in Sweden (Mörköfjord).

seems to be identical with Cym. *Tuedd*, coast, the inference being that the portion of the combined streams nearest the sea received the name of "the coast river" to distinguish it from the Teviot beyond the junction. The Farrar and the Beauly rivers (see next chapter) supply an analogy in support of this theory.

The tribal name *Horesti* may with same probability be assigned to the same origin as the English word "hurst" (Ger. *horst*), a thicket. (*Cf.* forst and forest.) The Horesti were north of the Firth of Forth, apparently in Fifeshire.

Pursuing this examination of early place-names, I shall now analyse the Ptolemaic names of the second century in Scotland.

CHAPTER XVIII.

River-names and their value — Mountain-names and their value — Ptolemy's place and tribal names in Scotland analysed.

RIVER-NAMES are the most eloquent factors in topography, for they are the oldest and the least liable to change. They are more useful pointers even than the names of mountains. Tribes seeking settlements would be naturally attracted by rivers, and especially by fordable rivers; and the most desirable lands would be the higher ground adjoining the swamps which must have resulted from the unbanked state of the streams. If the new settlers were superimposed upon older inhabitants, the existing names of the rivers would be retained, frequently (but not necessarily), in the original or a corrupted form. If the lands were unoccupied by other tribes, the settlers would give the rivers names in their own language, denoting their peculiarities or general characteristics, whether straight or crooked, smooth or rough, clear or dark, sluggish or swift, and in some cases, names denoting simple motion, or even the primitive idea of water.

It may be laid down as an axiom of topographical research, that the more fanciful the names, either of rivers or mountains, the later is their origin. The simple minds of the barbarous tribes whose chief concern was the provision of food by primitive agriculture, by the chase, by the reiving of neighbouring tribes, and by the tending of their flocks and herds, were unlikely to conceive poetic names for the features of the landscape. And it may be added that, in general, names which "leap to the eyes," as being eminently descriptive of the topography, are far more likely to be correct than those that call for an effort of the imagination. The horror of the obvious which characterises the work of some etymologists is surely an unscientific attitude.

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Celnius (Cullen): Cym. *Cûl*, narrow.

Clota (Clyde): already discussed (Tacitus group of names).

Deva: Ptolemy's name for the Dee. But the equation of Dee with Deva shows something lacking in the phonetics. There are evidently two elements in *Deva*, and the first syllable only (*De*), is represented in the modern name. The second half of the word gives the root *Af* (Cym.), conveying the idea of motion, from which the familiar *Afon* is derived. *Wf*, flow, or glide, or running, contains a related idea. The first syllable in Deva is Cym. *Dwy*, two, and Deva thus means the two streams.

This view of the origin of Deva seems to be proved by the fact that the great Dee in England and Wales is called by the Welsh (and, as Camden observes, was called by them in his day), *Dwfyr Dwy*, meaning the two waters, in allusion to the fact that the river has two head-streams. The Aberdeenshire Dee is mainly formed by two head-streams, and the Dee in Kirkcudbrightshire is formed at its broadest part by a junction with the Tarfe. (There is also a Dee in Ireland, showing the wide distribution of the name.)

In Scotland, the Aberdeenshire Dee may have been called originally *Dwy-avon*, the two rivers, for Ptolemy's town on the Dee shows the "Avon" termination pretty clearly. So also does Devenick (in the name Banchory-Devenick), which means literally "the Dee River water." Deva and Devon have a common origin.

We have a parallel case in the river-name "Dusk," or "Desk," which Davoren's *Glossary* translates as the two streams. (Cym. *Dwy Wysg*.)[2]

[2] Loch Duich, in Kintail, Ross-shire, may supply a further parallel, for the name seems to mean the two waters (Dwy-ich), Duich and Long forming a fork.

The derivation of Deva from *Diva*, goddess, has no apparent warrant. The Dee, of course, was worshipped, but so were all the principal rivers.

Iena: a corruption of Ken, apparently. (Cym. *Cain*, clear.)

Ila (Ullie), or the Helmsdale River: (see "Ullie" in the Scottish river-names.

Itis: (probably the Etive River). Perhaps from Cym. *Ith*, what stretches out.

Longus: (perhaps meant for Loch Long). Cym. *Llong*, a ship, and O. Ic. *Lung*, a warship. It should be observed that Cormac calls *Long* (a ship) a "Saxon" word. From this it would appear that the Celts borrowed the word.

Loxa (Lossie): O. Ic. *Laxa* (salmon-river) hardly fits here, but O. Ic. *Ljóss* (bright or shining), does. This is the probable source of the name.

Nabarus (Naver): the Sans. root is *Niv*, to flow, and cognates of *Nabarus*, or *Naver*, are found in Germany (R. Naab); Holland (R. Naba, or Nave); Spain (R. Nevia); Russia (R. Neva); and Wales (R. Never). Cym. *Nof*, what is flowing or moving, is apparently the Celtic root. "Navern" is an old form of the Scottish Naver, and the same form ("Nevern"), appears in the Pembrokeshire river. In O. Welsh it is spelt "Nyfer."

Novius (Nith): Cym. root (*Nof*) just mentioned. Nith cannot, without violence, be equated with *Novus*. It is probably from Cym. *Nydd*, a twist, a suitable name for a sinuous river like the Nith.

Tava (Tay): same root as the *Tavaus* of Tacitus (which see).

Tina (Eden): perhaps from Cym. *Eddain*, to glide onward. But it may be a misplacement by Ptolemy of the Tyne

in Haddington (Old Norse, *Thynja*, to make a thundering noise, as a rapid current does).

Tuessis is placed in the position of the Spey, but there is no obvious connexion between the names. Possibly *Tuessis* may be conected with Cym. *Tws*, an outlet. The name "Spey" is clearly derived from O.Ic. *Spýia*, to spew or vomit, or (more obviously), from O. Fris. *Spey*, with the same meaning. The name is due to its spates. (Probably "spate" has radically a similar meaning; Irish Gae. *speid*).

V*arar* (Beauly): the old name of the Beauly was the Farrar, still retained in the R. Farrar, which runs into the Beauly. This word can be plausibly referred to O. Ic. F*ara*, to move or go, hence *Far*, a passage. Suffix *ár* is a nominal form from *á*, a river. *Vör* (gen. pl. V*arar*) means a fenced-in landing-place, and the word is used in Iceland for an inlet where boats land. But as a river-name, the idea of motion is preferable for the Scottish V*arar*. Cym. *Ffawr*, a running, a course, or *Gwâr*, gentle, is alternatively a possible, but less likely, source.

Ptolemy gives the names of a few sea-lochs (*sinus*, a bay or sea-loch), which will repay analysis.

Lemannonius: This bay has been variously identified with Loch Linnhe, Loch Fyne, and (Skene) Loch Long. Its position suggests Loch Fyne, but its name and other circumstances lead to the belief that Loch Linnhe is meant. It must be remembered that in Ptolemy's map we cannot look for the accuracy of a modern map. The grotesque shape that he has given to Scotland—of which various explanations have been suggested—shows that his knowledge of the country was, to say the least, imperfect, though it is possible that Ptolemy was not responsible for this shape.

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for Cym. *Ull* means what is abrupt, or quick, and *Ullaid* means a sudden driving.

The small bay of Ullapool, from which the village takes its name, opens from Loch Broom. It may be a relic of the Ptolemaic name, but with greater likelihood it is a later Norse name, meaning Ulf's *ból*, or farm.

The names of three headlands called by Ptolemy the *Veruvium*, or *Verubium*, the *Vervedrum* or *Virvedrum*, and the *Tarvedrum*, or *Tarvedum*, or *Tarvaidunos*, may repay examination. They are the three principal capes of Caithness, viz., Noss Head, Duncansby Head, and Dunnet Head.

Tarvedum is identifiable with Dunnet Head, as well from its position on the map as by the alternative name of Orcas, which seems to relate to the Orkney Islands. From Dunnet Head the precipices of Hoy and the outlines of the Orkney hills are visible. The form of the word now most generally accepted as authoritative is *Tarvaidunos*. The usual derivation of *Tarvai* is from *Tarbh* (Gae.), a bull, and there is a theory that the promontory may be associated with some form of bull-worship. That, I think, is an absurdity. Plainly, *Tarvai* is derived from Cym. *Terf*, extreme, *Terfyn*, an extremity. This etymology appropriately describes the most northerly point in Great Britain. *Duxos* is apparently Cym. *Dinas*, a hill-fort. Dunnet Head consists of numerous hills and valleys, but the D*inas* is probably represented by Brough, close to the headland. I can find no distinct evidence of the remains of any fort at Brough, but the name shows that there must have been a *Burg* on or near, the site; otherwise the name is unintelligible.[4]

[4] It is conceivable that Tarvedum may be Cape Wrath (*am Parph*), and that *Parfedum* may be the correct reading.

The earliest forms of Dunnet are Donotf, Dunost, and Dunneth. I suggest that in these names we may find the *Dunos* of Ptolemy. In the early maps of Scotland, the headland is called Quinic Nap, and Windy Nap.

Verubium is obviously Noss Head. Noss is O. Ic. *Nos*, a nose, a variant of *Nes*, so frequently applied to headlands in Scandinavian districts. The old name was Catness, but the "Cat" has long disappeared.

Verubium may be derived with some plausibility from Cym. *Wyraw*, to reach out, with its related substantative *Wyre* (which probably denoted a headland), and *ub*, what is high, thus denoting a high promontory.

Vervedrum or *Vervedum* contains *Wyre*, already noticed, and for a similar reason. But Richard of Cirencester makes the first syllable *Vin*, which, if correct, must be Cym. *Ffin*, a limit or boundary. *Vedr* is, I think, Cym. *Gwydyr*, green. This headland is notably verdant.[5]

The present name, Duncansby Head, is quite modern. The earliest forms are Dungalsbae, Dungsby, and (in old maps) Dunsby. "By" is, of course, the usual Danish termination, denoting originally a dwelling or farm, and now a village. Therefore, Dungal or Dung is probably a personal name, that of the dweller, or farmer. There is an O. Ic. word, *dunga*, meaning a useless fellow, from which it may be derived, for the Scandinavians had an unpleasant habit of giving one another pointed nicknames. This name, in turn, would easily take the Gaelic form of Dungal.

[5] Ptolemy's name for the Wear (*Vedra*) contains the same root, derived from the same source. *Gwydyr* means both glass and green, and the name of the river would thus signify glassy or shining. (See analysis of *Glas* as a river-name, and Mr. Fox-Talbot's comment on *verre*.)

From the promontories we proceed to the islands, and here we have a wide and important field of investigation, for islands, like rivers, are tenacious of their names. An analysis of the island-names is instructive. It is needful, however, to remark that Ptolemy had only a vague idea of the relative position of the Scottish islands, and except by their names, there is no sure guide otherwise to their identification.

Dumna may be intended for the Outer Hebrides. The name is doubtfully from the same source as that of the Damnonii, a powerful tribe occupying the entire basin of the River Clyde, and both sides of the Firth of Clyde. *Dumn* is an old form of the modern Welsh *Dwfn*, meaning deep. We find it used by Bede in the form of "Dummoc" (*Dumnoc*, deep water), for Dunwich. It seems to have been applied to places bounded or approached by a deep channel, as distinguished from shallows. A cognate form, in a Teutonic dress, is supplied by the name "Dieppe." Thus, "Dumna" may mean a territory approached by a deep channel like the Minch (*La Manche*).

Ebuda: the modern name Hebrides, the Hæbudae of Pliny. The "r" is intrusive, through a transcriber's error, and the error has been perpetuated to the present day.

Ptolemy gives the name Ebudae to a group of five islands, which he places between Ireland and Scotland. Two of them he calls Ebuda (close to Ireland, thus showing the vagueness of his knowledge), and the others he names respectively Epidium, Maleus, and Rhicina. By the identification of Maleus with Mull, Skene attempted to identify the others, from their position in relation to Mull; but that is a futile task. The names, however, may be analysed, and the analysis may be fruitful. When, some years ago, I was writing a his-

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tricked the Scottish King Edgar out of Kintyre, by crossing the isthmus in a boat dragged from one loch to the other. By thus making Kintyre an island within the literal meaning, but not the actual intention, of Edgar's grant, he was enabled to include Kintyre with all those Western Isles between which and the mainland he could go in a boat with a rudder.[6] Robert Bruce afterwards crossed the isthmus in the same manner. Tarbert in Easter Ross and Tarbert in Harris are, in each case, a narrow isthmus which similarly provided short cuts; and Tarbert (or Tarbat) on Loch Lomond marks the place where boats may have been drawn across to Loch Long in the same way.

Maleus is certainly Mull. Its earliest subsequent forms are Malea, Myl, and Mula. It may take its name from the mountainous character of the island, and the source would thus be Cym. *Moel*, a conical hill; also meaning "bare," and therefore applied in Wales to hills with bare tops, which is the general character of the Mull mountains. (But *cf.* O. Ic. *Múli*, a projecting mountain.)

It is to be observed, however, that the two forms which are the earliest (Ptolemy's and Adamnan's) both make the root *Mal*, which suggests that the meaning may be derived from Cym. *Mall*, a soddened state, *Mallus*, soddened, thus denoting a marsh or bog.

Monæda : Skene reads this name as Monarina (so does Elton)[7] and thus easily identifies it with Arran (Mon and Arina). But this reading is opposed to the more authori-

[6] Magnus Barefoot's Saga, c. 11. The Saga gives Melkolm (Malcolm) as the name of the Scottish king instead of Edgar. This must be an error. Elsewhere the Sagas relate a similar incident in connexion with Beiti, a mythological Sea-king.

[7] Elton gives both Monarina and Monaoida as Ptolemaic island-names, thus increasing the confusion.

tative form Monæda, and the position of the island (if that counts for anything) points clearly to Mon or Man. (? Cym. *Mäon*, habitation, or *Mawn*, peat (*Manau*)).

Rhicina: the remaining island of Ptolemy's group of five is usually identified with Rathlin, the small island on the north coast of Ireland. The old forms are Rachra, Ragharee and Reachrainn. An old name of the Isle of Thanet, Ruoichin, seems to contain the same root. In O. Welsh, *Rag ynys* means "an adjacent island," and *Rag* shows itself in these island-names.

The northern division of Ptolemy's islands comprises Ocetis (amended to Sketis), Dumna, Orcades, and Thule, in the order of their latitude northwards.

Orcades: the Orkneys. The origin of this name has given rise to a good deal of conjecture. It is usually attributed to Gae. *Orc*, a pig or a whale. The Gaelic "whale" must be a porpoise! The meaning is probably to be found in Cym. *Orch*, a limit, or rim, the Orkneys being the islands beyond the limit of Scotland in the North, e.g., Dunnet Head, Ptolemy's alternative name for which, as we have seen, is "Orcas." Probably the modern form "Orkneys" is from O. Ic. *Orkn*, a kind of seal; perhaps a Norse interpretation of the Cymric name. In O. Welsh the name appears as *Orch*, which supports the derivation I have given.

Sketis (if that is the correct reading of Ocetis, which, perhaps, is doubtful), stands for Skye. The earliest forms of Skye are Scia, Scith, and Skid. The source appears to be Cym. *Ysgi*, cutting off, in allusion to the jagged nature of the coast-line. The Norse name for the island was *Skid*, a chopped piece or a splinter, which is a related idea. (*Cf.* also Goth. *Skaidan*, to divide or sever.) The position of Ocetis, it may be added, does not correspond with that of Skye.

Thule: if Ptolemy had a confused idea of the situation of the western isles, how much more ignorant was he of the situation of Thule, the mysterious island so frequently mentioned by ancient geographers, and so vaguely placed by them. Ptolemy splashes it, so to speak, into the ocean, anywhere away up in the unknown North. The name is Teutonic (but the authorities are in disagreement as to its source), and there can be little doubt that the supposed island which caused the geographers and some Roman writers so much trouble, was Scandinavia itself. Dr. Nansen (*In Northern Mists*) gives excellent reasons for that belief.

Let us now turn to Ptolemy's tribal names and see what we can make of them. Commencing with the northern extremity, we find a group of "C" names, which are plainly Cymric in form.

Cornavii occupied the extreme north. The name is from Cym. *Corniaw*, to butt. The Cornavii of Caithness and Cornwall were the people at the butt or extremity. The Cornavii of England occupied the land butting into the sea between the Dee and the Mersey. Cym. *Corn*, = Eng. Horn.

Caerini occupied the Assynt country in Sutherland. The name seems to be connected either with Cym. *Caer*, a wall or fort, or *Caeor* (Cym.), a sheepfold. But Richard of Cirencester calls this tribe the *Catini*, a name obviously associated with the *Cat* of Caithness; and he places the tribe not on the west, but on the east coast, where, in point of fact, Caithness is situated. It is customary now to sneer at the whole of Richard as being the work of a convicted impostor. But it has been proved that his description of Britain is accurate in details that were unknown until modern research re-

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Epidii: (see Epidium).

Novantae occupied Galloway. The root contained in this name seems to be Cym. B*ant*, a high place, with the prefix *Nw* or *Ny* signifying a characteristic. This, again, agrees with the modern name, Galloway, for G*alé* in Cornish (Welsh *Gallt*, an ascent), means a high place, and *Gwyddle* is a woody place.

Selgovae occupied the country west of the Novantae. The essential root in this name appears to be Cym. *Swl*, a flat space or ground. This derivation is borne out by the e.f. of Solway (Sulway and Sulloway), the name of the Firth receiving the rivers that traversed the country of the Selgovae (the Annan, the Nith, and the Dee). As their neighbours, the Novantae, occupied the hilly country of Galloway, so the Selgovae were the inhabitants of the plains to the east of them; hence apparently their name. The root *gov* is probably derived from Cym. *gwyfaw*, to run out or flat.

Otalini: coming round to the east coast, we find this tribe (in later editions *Otadeni*), occupying the district between Hadrian's Wall and the Forth. A probable derivation for this tribal name is from Cym. *Oth*, what is exterior (or *Wt*, what is out), and *Linn*, a marsh, or *Lleyn*, a low strip of land, thus signifying the coast people. (Their territory extends from the Wear to the Forth.)

Venicones were the people of Fife, Forfar, and Kincardine. The name seems to be related to Welsh *Ffwynog*, a meadow, and especially to Corn. *Whynick*, a marsh; *Winnic*, fenny. (*Cf.* Cym. *Gwæn*, a meadow.)

Tæxali or *Tæzali* were the people of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. The promontory of Tæzalorum is Buchanness or Kinnaird's Head. Tæxali may be identical with Texel at the mouth of the Rhine, a significant

circumstance (*Cf.*, also, the Scottish isle named Texa). The name suggests the plant teasel, or tazel (A. S. *tæsel*), as a feature of the country. The district inhabited by the Tæzali may have abounded in *dipsacus*.

A preferable derivation may be from Cym. *Tawch*, foggy. *Ch* would take the form of *x* (*cf.* *Uxell* for *Uchel*).

Vacomagi lay between the Tæzali and the Caledonii. They occupied the County of Elgin, Strathspey, Strathavon, Braemar, and Strathardle. The latter part of the name is clearly the Celtic *magus*, a plain, and the prefix suggests Cym. G*wag*, void or empty. But this cannot mean a depopulated plain, unless it signifies that the Vacomagi seized unoccupied territory. The word may be a hybrid, the prefix being from O. Ic. V*ökr*, moist. Vacomagi would thus mean the people of the marshy plain.

Caledonii: their territory and name have already been discussed.

Decantae may have occupied both sides of the Moray Firth, hence the significance of the prefix. *Cant* seems to be referable to Cym. *Cant*, a rim. The name Decantae would thus mean the people on both shores (of the Firth).

Lugi occupied the country on the east coast of Sutherland. The name probably means the marsh people, *Lug*, and *Leog* (Gae.), being cognates. (The god Lug is sometimes invoked to explain this name!) Probably Cym. *Llwch*, a lake, is the source of *Lug*.

Smertae or *Mertae:* location near Loch Shin. Stokes makes the root *Smer*, to shine. If that is the fact, it seems to confirm my interpretation of the name *Shin* (which see) as being related to the Eng. word "shine." ("Smert" is found in personal Celtic names.)

The town names need not detain us long; several are associated with the river-names. *Alauna* (the river-town) on the east coast, looks like Inverkeithing; *Alauna*, on the west coast may be Dumbarton; D*evana* is the settlement on the Deva; *Orrea*, on the Ore[9] (but the river-name is not given; it is derived from O. Ic. *Orr*, swift); *Tamia*, on the Tay; *Tuesis*, on the Spey; *Rerigonïius*, on Loch Ryan; and *Vandogara*, on the White Cart. *Bannatia* suggests Cym. B*anad*, broom; and *Lindum* shows the stem *Lind*, meaning marsh (O. Welsh *Linn*). There seems to be no reason to doubt that V*ictoria* is a boastful name given to the site by the Romans. *Castra Alata* is evidently Burgh-head. This place is named Ptoroton by Bertram (Richard of Cirencester); and it is a curious circumstance that a local name for Burghhead is (or was, some years ago) Tor-rietown (Cym. *Tur*, tower).

In the ill-defined portion of Ptolemy's map near the Sol-way Firth, there is a group of three towns, the names of all of which suggest a high situation.

Carbantorigon is resolvable into Cym. *Caer*, a fort or city; B*ant*, high, or a high place (see *Novantae*); and *Rigon* (see Rerigonius).

Uxellum is from Cym. *Uchel*, high.

Trimontium probably does not mean "the three moun-tains," but "the mountain town" (Cym. *Tre* and *Mynydd*).

Perhaps these towns were really in Galloway, but have been placed too far to the east. It is useless to attempt to identify them with any modern names.

[9] *Cf.* Orrock in Fifeshire.

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descriptive of the character of the country occupied by the tribes. They are, in point of fact, mainly topographical, as I have tried to show, and so regarded, they offer only a slender clue to the ethnology of the tribes to which they were applied. But the evidence that they offer of the existence of a Cymric tongue in Caledonia during the second century is unmistakable.

The analysis also proves, if less decisively, that there was another philological element co-existing sporadically with the Cymric. That is shown by the place-names of Teutonic, and apparently Scandinavian, origin that I have analysed. Again allowing for error, the existence of that element in the Ptolemaic names cannot well be doubted. The name Varar, applied to the Beauly Firth, would appear to suggest that it was the channel by which tribes of Scandinavians entered the country. They may have been the refuge-seeking Celydons mentioned by the Welsh Triads, and, if, as I have supposed, the boundary of the tribes whose distinctive name was the Caledons, stretched from the Moray Firth to Loch Linnhe, that suggestion is not without support from the following facts.

When we get the first clear view of the Pictish monarchy, we find that it was seated on the banks of the River Ness. That river-name does not appear in Ptolemy. It is first mentioned by Adamnan, who tells us of St. Columba's visit to the Pictish King Brude at his capital on the Ness. The river-name "Ness" is Teutonic (*cf.* the Nissa in Sweden, the Neisse, Nesse, and Netze in Germany), and is ultimately derived from Sans. *Nis*, to flow. Ness is the Teutonic, and Netze the Slavonic form of the word. It is impossible to avoid the suggestion that this Teutonic river-name, intimately associated as it was with the Pictish monarchy when it first emerges into the clear daylight of history, may denote Teutonic hegemony; and if the suggestion is pressed further,

it is easy to believe that the River Nissa in South-West Sweden, situated in nearly the same parallel of latitude as the Scottish River Ness, was the centre of the district from which this ruling people may have proceeded to the North of Britain. In the time of Jordanes (sixth century), this district (West Gothland) was inhabited by a people whom he calls "Gautigoth," and whom he singles out from their neighbours as specially brave and warlike.

In the time of Bede, the tradition about the place of origin of the Picts was that they had come from "Scythia." I have already examined this word to show its geographical vagueness; and have suggested a sound method of ascertaining what was meant by the writers who used it. Following that method, we find that the Ravenna Geographer (who must have used geographical terms in the sense in which they were understood in Bede's time) places Scythia to the west of the Vistula. But he states that "Old Scythia" was the name given by most cosmographers to Scandia, i.e., Scandinavia. Therefore, we are, I think, justified in concluding that by Scythia, Bede must have meant Scandinavia. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives the same account (copied, no doubt) as Bede, with the additional information that the Picts came from the south of Scythia, which, we may take it, means South Sweden. It is a curious commentary on the Chronicle's statement, that Geoffrey of Monmouth and Layamon, while mentioning the Norwegians, the Dacians (Danes) and the Picts in association, says nothing about the Swedes. The inference may be that they believed the Picts to be Swedes.

There is some ground, therefore, for the belief that the Picts were originally bodies of Swedes, or Goths from the South of Sweden, who settled in North Britain after ravaging the country and plundering the Cymric inhabitants during an undefined period. That, indeed, seems to be the inference to be drawn from the statements of Gildas. He

says[1] that the Picts were a foreign nation who, in association with the Scots, harassed the Britons for a lengthy period, and who settled down in the northern part of the island only after the close of the Roman period in Britain. They remained there, says Geoffrey, "mixed with the Britons."

The facts may be that the tribe of Caledons represents the earliest settlement of Scandinavians; that a lengthy gap separates this settlement from the arrival of the later waves of Scandinavian origin; that these new-comers for a long period led a restless life, their chief occupation, by land and sea, being that of plunderers, or Piccardach; that finally, they turned to pastoral and agricultural pursuits, and mixed with the earlier inhabitants; and that they themselves, in turn, became the prey of hungry hordes, some from the same nest as themselves, and others from the mouths of the Rhine, or the Weser, or the Elbe. Jordanes well calls Scandia "the hive of nations," and it is tolerably certain that during the migratory centuries, no inconsiderable proportion of the swarms from that hive fastened upon the east of Scotland. It is a well-authenticated feature of Scandinavian history, that owing to the redundancy of the population in relation to the means of livelihood, the pressure of famine occasionally made forced emigration a necessity; and lots were cast to decide who should go.[2] It is by no means improbable that the "refuge-seeking Celyddons" of the Welsh Triads, and the big, red-haired men of Tacitus belong to this category. The people whom the Romans called Picts may have been forced from their homes by economic causes, or in search of plunder. In any case, their numbers, at first small, but augmented by successive colonies, seems to have been considerable in the aggregate. Occupying apparently that part of the country north of the Firth of Forth which

[1] Gildas, Sec. 14 and Sec. 21.

[2] Bosworth's *Origins*, p. 53.

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writers, an origin had to be found for this people to agree with the classics. Now, Virgil described the Geloni of Thrace as *picti* or painted, and Claudian appeared to attribute to them the practice of tattooing. Therefore the Cruithne must have been of "the seed of Geleoin." Herodotus assigned a Greek origin to the Geloni; therefore Geleoin must be connected with Ercoil or Hercules. But it was also known that Virgil had described the Agathyrsi, the neighbours of the Geloni, as a painted or "spotted" people. Therefore, in order to be on the safe side, the Cruithne were connected with the Agathyrsi as well as with the Geloni. The Agathyrsian legend undoubtedly originated in an Irish monastery.

The legend recognises the similarity between the name of the Picts and that of the Pictones of Gaul, and consequently tells us that on their way to Ireland from Thrace, the Cruithne founded Pictavia in Gaul, so called from *pictis* "a kind of arms." I have already stated that the name of the Pictones of Gaul appears in Roquefort's *Glossary* as "Pictes," and it is further confirmation of the identity of their name with that of the Picts of Scotland, that Gregory of Tours and Glaber should call them "Pictavi" and "Pectavi." Jean Picard, a French writer of the sixteenth century, has the same story as the Irish monks; no doubt he copied the Irish legend. He tells us that the Picts, or Agathyrsi, left their native country, "owing to domestic troubles," and settled, partly in Britain, and partly in the most fertile portion of Gaul.[3]

The entry in the Book of Ballymote connecting the Picts with the Agathyrsi, is translated as follows by Pinkerton and Skene respectively. Pinkerton's version reads:—

"They (the Cruithne) were called Agathyrsi, and from a kind of slaughtering weapon they were called Pioti."[4]

[3] J. Picarde . . . *de prisca Celtopædia*, etc., p. 160.

[4] *Enquiry*, i., p. 508.

Skene's translation is as follows:—

"Agathyrsi was their name.
"In the portion of Erchbi.
"From their tattooing their fair skins were they called *Picti*.[5]

In a question like this, Skene is a far safer guide than Pinkerton. But the "slaughtering weapon" and the pointed weapon for tattooing, are not so widely separated as might be imagined.[6]

The method I have described appears to represent, with some degree of accuracy, the mode of reasoning by which the Irish story of the origin of the Picts was concocted. It seems to have deceived Pinkerton, who probably accepted this story as the foundation of the elaborate theory by which he brought the Picts, a Gothic race, from Thrace. Also, he deceived himself by identifying the Goths with the Getae, (a Sarmatian tribe probably), whom the Goths displaced in Thrace, and by whose name they were frequently called by contemporary writers. The genuine Getae of Thrace were tattooers like the Geloni; and thus, apparently, by building up his theory on the foundation of the Irish legend, Pinkerton convinced himself that he had discovered the true cradle of the race of the Picts.

I believe that in the course of his researches, Pinkerton stumbled upon a half-truth, namely, that the Picts, i.e., the people who were originally called Picts—were of Gothic extraction. But his method of proving that thesis was to abuse those who differed from him, and to make statements, some of the most important of which will not bear examination.

[5] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 33.

[6] An ingenious argument for deriving *Picti* from a sharp point (Cym. *pîg* = a point, whence pick, pike, peak, and other related words), could easily be built up in connexion with the method of tattooing.

If the Pictish Chronicle is to be accepted as reasonably authoritative on the origin of the Picts, there can be no doubt that it supports the Gothic theory. It declares that the Scythians and the Goths had a common origin: they were descendants of Magog. This is probably copied from Nennius, who makes the same statement. A common descent from Magog is also attributed by Scandinavian tradition to the Sweas, or Swedes, and the kindred Goths of South Sweden. The latter are believed to have preceded in Scandinavian the people sometimes called, by certain historians, "Scythians." These historians relate that Odin, in a human shape, led his people from the Black Sea through Germany (where he planted colonies on the way) to the island of Fyen (Odensee), and thence to Sigtuna on Lake Malar, the latter becoming the headquarters of Odinism and the centre of Swedish authority, which exacted tribute from the Goths of South Sweden. Nennius derives the Gauls and the Goths from two sons of Japhet; the former from Gomer, and the latter from Magog; and, as already stated, the Welsh have a Gomerian tradition, thus marking them off from the Teutonic Magogites. Both Nennius and the Pictish Chronicle, by a mistaken etymology, make Scythians and Scots the same people, and the Chronicle derives them and the Picts from a common ancestor. But it also derives the Scythians and the Goths from the same stock; and the inference therefore is, that the Picts and the Goths were equally included in the Gothic nomenclature. Of the Goths, the Chronicle gives the character that is confirmed by other sources of information. They were *gens fortis et potentissima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis.*[7] The same idea is conveyed by the words of Giraldus Cambrensis, who calls the Goths "a hardy and valiant" nation.

The confusion of the Goths with the Sarmatic Getae may account for Claudian's suggestion that the Picts were tat-

[7] Innes, App. ii. It is suggestive that Cym. *Goth* means "pride."

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CHAPTER XX.

Gildas on the Picts—Bede on the Picts—The accounts in Geoffrey of Monmouth and Layamon—The Gaelic traditions of Pictish origins—Pictish settlements in Ireland and Scotland—The evidence of Giraldus—The Frisian settlement in Scotland—The Saxons in Scotland—The different elements in the Scottish nation.

THE various traditions about the Picts are drawn from three sources: Anglo-Saxon (Bede), Cymric (Gildas, Nennius, and Geoffrey of Monmouth), and Gaelic (the Irish MSS.). The Pictish Chronicle is plainly of Irish authorship,[1] and may therefore be included in the last category.

Gildas, the oldest (sixth century) of these authorities, is also the least communicative. He was a Jeremiah rather than a Tacitus. His object was not to write history, but to preach a sermon. Therefore his information is of the scantiest. If he knew any tradition about the origin of the Picts, he does not tell it. Yet he uses one significant word that is ethnographically important. Both the Picts and the Scots, he says, were "foreign" nations; more accurately described as "overseas" or "transmarine" people. He tells us also, in effect, that the Picts and the Scots were a villainous crew of barbarians, who were continually pouncing upon the poor Britons and tormenting them with their waspish attacks. There was a community of interest between the associated peoples which seems to imply a community of race. They differed in "manners," says Gildas, but were equally bloodthirsty. There is nothing said about the language of either people.[2]

[1] The words *Da Drest* (two Drests) in the list of Pictish kings seem to support that view. The two Drests or Drusts were joint rulers.

[2] Gildas, sec. 19.

Bede, the next author in point of time, gives us the tradition that was current when he wrote his history. The Picts came in a few ships from Scythia; they were driven by contrary winds on the north coast of Ireland, where they sought, but unsuccessfully, a settlement. The Scots (by which word Bede means simply the natives of Ireland), gave them both advice and wives; the advice was to settle in Albania, which they did; and the gift of the wives was accompanied by a stipulation that when the succession to the Pictish throne should come into doubt, the king was to be chosen from the female rather than from the male royal line; which custom, says Bede, has been observed among the Picts "to this day." These statements are definite enough. It will be noticed that Bede, like Gildas, gives the Picts a foreign origin.[3]

Nennius is less definite, but like Gildas and Bede, he makes the Picts an "overseas" people. He tells us that they first occupied the Orkneys, and then the east coast of Albania, keeping possession of a third of Britain "to this day." He dates their arrival some hundreds of years before the Christian era.[4]

Geoffrey of Monmouth is a discredited historian (he was really an editor), owing to the absurd fables with which his work is interlarded. Yet no unprejudiced critic can avoid the conclusion that it includes a great body, not only of valuable tradition, but of genuine history. He tells us that the Picts came from Scythia at a period which, by his allusions to contemporary Roman history, may be computed as being at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century. The leader of Geoffrey's Picts was one Rodric, who after ravaging Albania penetrated to the north of England, and was there met, defeated, and slain by the British King Marius. Those of the Picts who escaped destruction

[3] *B.* i., c. 1. [4] *History of the Britons*, sec. 12.

were allowed to settle in Caithness.[5] As I have already remarked in the Irish section of this book, I think it probable that the progenitor of the Clanna Ruari, or the Cruithne, may be identified with Godfrey's Rodric.

Layamon, in his *Brut*, copies a good deal of Geoffrey's version of the Pictish settlement in Albania, with some added details which may represent genuine Welsh tradition. The Picts, says Layamon, were "folk of much might" from Scythia, who "harried and harmed" the country. "Many hundred burghs he (Rodric) had made destitute." After their defeat by Marius and the settlement of the survivors about Caithness (as related by Geoffrey), the Picts sent a deputation of twelve men to their neighbours, the Britons, to solicit a supply of wives. The Britons repulsed them disdainfully, and a search for wives was then made in Ireland. There the ambassadors met with success; and thus it occurred that "Irlande's" speech became the language of the Picts.[6] Plainly, their own speech was something different.

Here Layamon makes a departure from his authority. Geoffrey's version is, that after their unsuccessful attempt to get wives from the Britons, the Picts obtained them from the Irish; and he adds the remarkable statement (as already pointed out), that the Scots derived their origin from this union between Pictish husbands and Irish wives.[7]

The Gaelic traditions, as we have seen, bring the Picts from Thrace, and I have shown the probable reason for their having done so. In some details, these traditions disagree, but they are in harmony in making Ireland the seat of the Picts before they removed to Scotland. They were driven

[5] *British History*, B. iv., c. 17.

[6] *Brut* (Madden), i., pp. 423-9. The stone erected to commemorate the defeat of the Picts by Marius was called "Westmering," hence Geoffrey Gaimer's (twelfth century) name of "Westmaringiens" for the Picts.

[7] Geoffrey, B. iv., c. 17.

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The narratives from Anglo-Saxon, Cymric, and Gaelic sources alike give prominence to the Irish marriages; and Skene[12] quotes Layamon as an authority in support of his contention that the Pictish language was Gaelic. Logically, equal importance should be attached to Layamon's statement that the Picts were not an indigenous race, and that their neighbours in Alban, who refused to give them wives, were a British or Cymric race.

But the story of the Irish wives, and the succession to the Pictish throne through an Irish female line (to be examined presently), is apparently due to a confusion between two distinct occurrences: a Pictish settlement in Scotland, and a Pictish settlement in Ireland. The two events (which may have been separated by a lengthy period of time) are so involved that it would be a hopeless task to attempt to disentangle them. The Irish traditions get over the difficulty by making the conquest of Alban, or Scotland, an affair of Irish Picts. But that contradicts the accounts in the Anglo-Saxon and Cymric versions, which bring the Picts direct from Scythia to Scotland. If the two distinct settlements of the Picts (one in Ireland and the other in Scotland) are kept in mind, and if it is remembered that in the circumstances of the case, tradition would infallibly intermix events relating to the two colonies, the difficulty presented by the Irish marriages will disappear. When Layamon wrote his *Brut* (about 1200 A.D.), he was aware that in parts of Scotland where the Picts formerly dwelt, the Gaelic language was spoken in his day. That doubtless was his reason for supposing that it was the language spoken during the Pictish occupation, and consequently must have been introduced by the Irish wives of the tradition related by Bede and Geoffrey, to both of which sources he acknowledges his indebtedness. But all this need not exclude the possibility of close social relations between the Picts of Scotland and

[12] *Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 202.

the Cruithne of Ireland; nor is it necessary to assume that there were no Pictish migrations from Ireland to Scotland. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe, from geographical as well as traditional considerations, that the Picts of Galloway were originally a colony from the opposite coast of Ireland.

There were later Teutonic additions to the Pictish population of Scotland, well within the historic period. The first is related by Geoffrey, who says that Carausius, the Menapian, who assumed the purple and took possession of Britain at the end of the third century, had the assistance of a body of Picts who came over from Scythia. To reward them for their services, he gave them a settlement in Alban, "where they continued afterwards, mixed with the Britons." [13]

A century later, a fresh settlement was effected, if Giraldus Cambrensis is to be believed; and Geoffrey's statements seem to bear the same implication. "When Maximus," says Giraldus, "was transported from Britain into Gaul (with the whole strength of men, arms, and ammunition that the Island could raise) to possess himself of the empire, Gratian and Valentinian, brothers and partners in the Empire, shipped over the Goths (a nation hardy and valiant, being at that time either their allies, or subject and obliged to them by some Imperial favours) from the borders of Scythia into the north parts of Britain, in order to annoy them and make them call back the usurper with their youth. But they being too strong, both by reason of the natural valour of the Goths, and also because they found the Island destitute of men and strength, possest themselves of no small territories in the northern parts of the Island."[14]

In the fifth century, still another settlement was effected; and here, at any rate, we are on firm historical ground.

[13] Geoffrey, B. v., c. 3.

[14] I quote Camden's version (trans. 1695) of the passage in Giraldus (1st Book, *De Institutione Principis*).

Nennius relates how Hengist obtained from Vortigern a grant of territory in Albania, "near the wall," for his sons Octha and Ebissa; and how the latter arriving with forty ships, sailed round the country of the Picts, laid waste the Orkneys, "and took possession of many regions beyond the Friesic Sea, even to the Pictish confines."[15] The Friesic Sea was the Firth of Forth, or the Scottish Sea, as the Angles subsequently called it; "the Sea which is between us and the Scots," as the Durham additions to Nennius explain. There is good reason to believe that the invaders of Britain under Hengist and his sons were Northern Frisians from Jutland. The Firth of Forth represented the southern boundary of their possessions in Scotland, but the northern limit is uncertain. It seems to be a fair assumption that what Nennius meant by *confinia Pictorum* was the common boundary between the Northern and the Southern Picts; in other words, the Grampians. If, in point of fact, the concession of territory in Scotland to the Frisians lay between the Grampians and the Forth, it would explain a good deal that is now obscure.

The Teutonic settlements during the Pictish monarchy do not perhaps end here, for some of the battles fought by King Arthur (why should his existence be doubted?) against the Saxons, seem to have been the result of attempts on the part of the Saxons to obtain fresh territory in Scotland. "The more the Saxons were vanquished," says Nennius, "the more they sought for new supplies from Germany, so that kings, commanders, and military bands were invited over from almost every province."[16] And Geoffrey states: "They (the Saxons) had also entirely subdued all that part of the island which extends from the Humber to the Sea of Caithness."[17] Layamon, writing about the Saxon struggle with the British people, says: "Then came together all the Scottish people: Peohtes and Saxons joined them together, and men of many

[15] Nennius, sec. 38. [16] *Ibid.*, sec. 50. [17] B. ix., c. 1.

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and that therefore the Celtic language must have been similarly displaced by the Teutonic. This pressure seems to be exemplified by the struggles of the Britons of Fortrenn against the encroachments of the Saxons, as embodied in the Irish traditions. Who were these Saxons, and who were the Saxons whom the Romans pursued to the Orkneys in the third century, as recorded by Claudian? Surely they were the vanguard of the settlers on the east coast, whose case we are considering. Thus I am supposing that while the Pictish tongue, or the mixed language of the Picts who dwelt in the interior, was further modified by contact with Saxon or Friesic settlers, those parts nearest the coast on the east became Saxon colonies, inhabited by a people who spoke a Low German dialect, which was retained pure with scarcely any admixture of Celtic. The pressure on the Picts by these colonies was from east to west; and thus the further west the Saxons pushed, the more assimilated their race and language became with those of the Picts.

But the name "Pict" would assuredly be applied to all the Saxon settlers in Pictland, irrespective of race and language. Kenneth MacAlpin was a Scot before he obtained the Pictish throne; but his death is recorded as that of *Rex Pictorum*. James VI. of Scotland was a Scot before he crossed the Border, but he was afterwards an Englishman in the eyes of Continental Europe. And all the different races of which the population of Scotland was composed, gloried in the name of Scot after the Scottish monarchy had been firmly established; all, that is to say, except (wonderful to relate) the Gaelic people in the Highlands, whom the Lowlanders called the "ancient" Scots. But that paradox will be explained in the proper place. A nation is formed by a conception of common interests; that was the conception which made a nation of the mixed people called the Picts, composed of Cymric, Teutonic, and possibly pre-Cymric elements; and that was the

conception which welded these elements (with á fresh element, itself similarly mixed) into the nation thereafter known in history as the Scots.[19] · Something of the same nature occurred in Ireland in historic times, when Norman, and English, and Scottish settlers made their homes there. Ultimately some of them, or their descendants, became more Irish than the Irish themselves; and that will always happen where races mix, or where they are not separated by barriers of religion or language.

This theory of the origin and development of the Pictish nation and language is the only one, as it seems to me, that is in accord with the narratives of the earliest chronicles, the incidence of place-names, the physical characteristics of the Scottish people, and the structure, peculiarities, and distribution of the dialects of the Scottish language at the present day.

[19] Subsequently Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Flemish elements were added, and became incorporated in the national life.

CHAPTER XXI.

The various theories about the Picts—The Gaelic theory as represented by Dr. Skene—The Cymric theory—The Gothic theory and John Pinkerton—Bede on the Pictish language—Sir John Rhys and the non-Aryan theory—The Pictish system of succession—Scandinavian parallels—An examination of Dr. Skene's arguments—Common elements in the Celtic and Teutonic languages—The Pictish language different from Anglo-Saxon, Cymric, or Gaelic.

It becomes necessary at this stage to glance at the different theories that have at one time or another been held about the Picts and their language, and to show how they fail to harmonise with certain known facts.

First, as to the Gaelic theory advocated by Dr. Skene, and widely accepted by many who have never subjected it to independent scrutiny. Every Scot should be grateful to Skene for his illuminating work on early Scottish history. The three volumes of his *Celtic Scotland*, though of unequal merit, occupy a unique place in the domain of Scottish history during Skene's time; and there has been so little done since his time, that his supremacy in that department is unchallenged. But his earliest book, *The Highlanders of Scotland*, a prize essay written for the Highland Society of London, is better known to the public than the later and more valuable work. He was a lawyer by profession, and his *Highlanders* betrays the fact. For no one can examine this essay critically, without coming to the conclusion that the author forgot that he was an historian with an impartial duty to perform, and only remembered that he was an advocate with a difficult case to win.[1]

[1] An opposing lawyer could pick holes in Skene's case with the greatest ease. For example, he directs attention (*Highlanders*, p. 10, MacBain's edition) to "the marked line of distinction" drawn between the Picts and

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present day (*e.g.*, Dr. Whitley Stokes), have much more to say for themselves. The first writer of weight to lend his name, but in a tentative fashion, to this solution of the Pictish problem was that sound antiquary, William Camden. The essay of Father Innes on the Ancient Inhabitants of Caledonia—a model of close and persuasive reasoning—was the foundation upon which subsequent advocates of the theory have built. George Chalmers in his *Caledonia* ably developed and fortified it, by showing the importance of place-names in settling the question.

John Pinkerton was not the originator of the Gothic theory, but was its most dogmatic and influential advocate. Stillingfleet and Usher had both argued a Teutonic origin for the Picts, the evidence of the early Chronicles seeming to admit of no other conclusion. Dr. Jamieson, too, was a tower of strength for the Goths during the early part of the nineteenth century. His arguments, hidden away in the obscurity of an Introduction to his great *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, have not in later years received the attention that they merit. But Pinkerton's name is the first that forces itself into notice in considering the claims of the Teutons.

Pinkerton seems to have bludgeoned many of his contemporaries into a belief in his ethnological teaching. In his day, it was rashly announced that he had proved the Teutonic origin of the Picts, just as Dr. MacBain no less rashly stated long afterwards that, in respect of the Picts' language being allied to Cymric, "the Pictish question is settled."[3] Pinkerton's weapon was the cudgel, not the rapier. Wherever he saw a Celtic head, he hit it. In his view, the Goths had a monopoly of all the virtues of the Scottish nation; and the Celts were in undoubted possession of all its vices. He was positively obsessed by his anti-Celtic bias; and to the question: "Can any good come out

[3] Ptolemy's *Geography of Scotland*, etc., p. 50.

of Celtica?" his answer was an emphatic and unequivocal "No." And yet, the great Colossus himself had feet of clay. They protrude everywhere throughout his vigorous essay. He was, in truth, as careless of his own facts as of his opponents' feelings.

These three theories, Gaelic, Cymric, and Teutonic, have one feature in common: they all ignore the plain statement of Bede, that in his day there were five languages in which the Scriptures were taught in Britain, namely, the languages of the nations of Angles, Britons, Scots, and Picts, with the Latin language common to all.[4] Nennius, too, calls these nations "four different people."[5] There is nothing unambiguous here, and it is useless to try to gloss such statement with refinements about identity of language but difference of dialect. The Angles spoke Anglo-Saxon; the Britons spoke Cymric; and the Scots spoke Gaelic. Therefore Pictish was something different from all three. It could not have been Anglo-Saxon, nor Cymric, nor Gaelic. What, then, was the Pictish language?

Sir John Rhys has tried to overcome the difficulty by seeking to prove that it was a non-Aryan tongue, and that the Picts were non-Aryan people. And Zimmer, also, was induced to believe that the Picts were the people who preceded the Celts in these islands. The non-Aryan theory derives much of its support from the supposed un-Aryan custom of succession through the female line, which, beyond doubt, was a feature of the Pictish polity. But was it an un-Aryan custom?

As shown by the lists of Pictish kings, the later of which may be regarded as authentic, the succession was normally that of brothers. A son did not succeed his father, but a

[4] B. i., c. 1. Elsewhere (*B.* iii., c. 6) Bede says that the nations and provinces of Britain were "divided into four languages, viz., the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English."

[5] Nennius, Sec. 7.

brother succeeded a brother. There was nothing unusual in that system (we find it established among the West Saxons); and it had its obvious advantages in cases where a son happened to be too young to bear arms. But among the Picts, the failure of brothers brought into operation the doubtful circumstances alluded to in the tradition recorded by Bede. In these circumstances, the principle of choice from the royal female line came into play, and this differentiated the system of the Picts from that of their neighbours.

The suggestion that the system presupposes a certain looseness of the marriage-tie appears to receive support from Cæsar's description of the social relations of the Britons; and particularly from a story told by Dion Cassius about a retort made by a Caledonian lady to Julia, the wife of the Emperor Severus. The Empress passed certain strictures upon the state of Caledonian morality, and the reply was that the system thus condemned was preferable to that of the Romans: the Caledonian ladies openly consorted with the best warriors of the race, while the Roman matrons privily committed adultery with the vilest of men.[6]

This statement of the Caledonian lady opens up a new field of investigation. It suggests the nature and the origin of the Pictish choice from the mother's side. The fable about the condition imposed upon the original Pictish settlers, when they obtained wives from Ireland, was probably an Irish invention to account for a known fact, namely, the succession of females among the Picts.

It has been pointed out by Dr. Frazer, that it was the custom alike in ancient Greece and ancient Sweden, for the royal families to keep their daughters at home, and send their sons forth to marry princesses and reign among their wives' people.[7] Scandinavian tradition relates instances, in which

[6] *The Welsh People*, p. 14, by Rhys and Brynmor Jones. The authors use the word "Pictish," but there is no warrant for this word in the original, which reads, *Argentocoxi cujusdam Caledonii uxor.*

[7] *The Golden Bough*, ii., p. 278.

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Artbranan, with whom Columba communicated by means of an interpreter. Skene tries to evade the dilemma of confessing that an interpreter was necessary between a Gaelic-speaking Irishman and a Pict (who, in Skene's view, spoke the same language), by suggesting that the agent was not an interpreter of language, but an expounder of the Scriptures. One would have thought that Columba himself was quite capable of the necessary exposition if he could have made himself understood. But, according to Skene, he did not find the services of an interpreter necessary when he visited King Brude on the banks of the Ness. To that there is a two-fold reply: Adamnan makes no statement about an interpreter one way or the other;[10] and Columba was accompanied by Comgall, an Irish Pict, head of the Bangor monastery.

Both Skene and his critics assume that Artbranan, the Skye man, was a Pict. But Adamnan does not say so; and there is no certainty that in the sixth century Skye was a Pictish possession. Therefore, Artbranan may have spoken a language other than Pictish. His name is Cymric: it denotes kingship (*Brenin*, a king), and he is described as chief of the Geona cohort, which suggests that Skye at that time was a military station. The aged convert was buried at a place called *Dobur Artbranan*, from which Skene inferred that Do*bar* being Old Gaelic, the supposed Picts of Skye must have been Gaelic speakers. But *dobur* is only a Gaelic form of the Cymric *dwfyr*, water, and the Cymric form may have changed to Gaelic by the time Adamnan wrote in the seventh century. However the question is regarded, it is an unproved assertion that Artbranan spoke what was, in the sixth century, the Pictish language. It is impossible, therefore, to argue that Columba's employ-

[10] But Adamnan distinctly states (ii. c. xxxii.) that on one occasion, when in the "province of the Picts" (presumably in King Brude's territory), Columba made use of the services of an interpreter.

ment of an interpreter proves anything, either for or against the Gaelic theory.

That theory cannot be sustained, as well on the historical and traditional grounds already cited, as on the broad ground that there is not a single Ptolemaic place-name in Scotland with a distinctive Gaelic form, nor any important river whose name is demonstrably Gaelic. In a later chapter, I shall supplement the proofs already given on these points, with others equally cogent. The Teutonic tribes of immigrants who were first called Picts, made comparatively few changes in the nomenclature of the rivers and mountains.

But the presence of common elements in Gaelic and Teutonic, and Gaelic and Cymric, makes it easier to understand how the Gaelic theory could be urged with some plausibility. Thus, the mixed language known as Pictish, consisting mainly of Scandinavian and Low German roots mixed with Cymric, was a relation both of Teutonic and Cymric; and Gaelic being another relation, but in a fundamentally different degree, a complex set of circumstances was set up, which has not unnaturally proved a baffling puzzle. The Pictish language is regarded as mysterious; and mysterious it certainly is, unless the conditions of its formation are kept in mind. I shall illustrate its character by some examples, and trace its development and its ultimate form. In the meantime, it is permissible to assert that a language composed largely of Scandinavian and Low German roots, mixed with Cymric, must have been something different from Anglo-Saxon, Cymric, or Gaelic; and that it meets the conditions postulated by Bede's statement that Britain had four nations and four tongues with the Latin language common to all.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Pictish words recorded by contemporaries—*Scollofthes*—*Peanfahel*—The names of the Pictish kings—The Drosten Stone and the meaning of its inscription—The incidence of languages—The dialects of modern Scots—The Pictish language the parent of modern Scots—The latter an indigenous language—How it differs from Northumbrian English—Frisian the dominant element of the later Picts—How the Pictish language became the national tongue of the Scots—The cleavage between the Pictish and the Gaelic languages.

The number of words definitely described by contemporaries as belonging to the "Pictish" language is exactly two. All other words called "Pictish" are the names of persons who are associated with the Picts. But these two words are called Pictish by authors who knew what the Pictish language was, and who lived before the name of Pict became extinct.

Much the later, and (from the standpoint of the present essay) the less important of these two words is *Scollofth*. Reginald of Durham (late twelfth century) writes of certain clerics (*clerici*) attached to the church of Kirkcudbright, who in the language of the Picts (*sermo Pictorum*) were called *Scollofthes*. We are told by inference that the word *Scollofth* has the same meaning as *Scholasticus*; and consequently are not left to guess its import. There is general agreement (and it is indeed obvious) that the first part of *Scollofth* (*Scoll*) is the word derived from the Latin *Schola*, that is common alike to the Teutonic and the Celtic languages, and is represented in English by "School." In his attempts to prove the Gaelic origin of the Picts, Skene made the suggestion in his *Celtic Scotland*[1] that *Scollofth*

[1] i., p. 212.

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limited to the category of languages in which *Peanfahel* means the end of a wall. But Bede does not say that it has that meaning at all. His statement is that the wall begins at a place called Peanfahel; he gives no explanation of the meaning of the word. The place is usually identified with Kinneil, a village and parish near Bo'ness on the borders of Stirlingshire and Linlithgowshire, where there are Roman remains. This belief has arisen from a supposition that the Gae. *cen* has been substituted for the Cym. *pen;* a supposition strengthened by the statement of a Nennius interpolator, that the wall commenced at "Cenail." But the allusion in the text of Nennius is to the Wall of Severus, concerning the identity of which there is still some doubt.[4] The length of the wall in the Nennius text (133 miles) is applicable neither to Antonine's Wall in Scotland, nor Hadrian's Wall in England. There is an error apparently in the transcription.

Bede says that Peanfahel was about two miles from Abercorn. Skene points out that Kinneil is six miles distant from Abercorn, but that Walton, the place he suggests (Camden made the same suggestion long before him) as the site of Peanfahel, is exactly three.[5] The author of the ancient MS. known as *Capitula Gildæ* states that the wall commenced at Kaer Eden (Carriden), which is exactly two miles from Abercorn.

Beyond doubt, the prefix in Peanfahel is (in its primary sense) Cym. *pen*, a head or end;[6] but it is unlikely that *fahel*, or *val*, is derived from Cym. *gwàl*, a rampart, which itself, like the English word "wall," probably owes its origin to *vallum:* for there are other Cymric words, mean-

[4] The evidence of Bede (B. i., c. 12, and B. iii., c. 2) strongly supports the view that the Wall of Severus was between the Tyne and the Solway.

[5] I believe that, in point of fact, the distance is about four miles.

[6] The Scottish "Bens" have the "B" form of "Pen." Strictly speaking, "Ben" is the point or peak of a mountain.

ing "wall" or "rampart," which have a truer Celtic significance than *gwàl*. Gae. *fàl* has two meanings, viz., "turf" and "rampart," the latter word implying a rampart made of sods. *Fál*, in the former sense, is almost certainly derived from O. Ic. and Swed. *vall*, "turf" or "sods," itself a derivation of *völlr*, a plain (gen. *vallar*, pl. *vellir*). This Scandinavian word *vall* has passed into Scots dialect as *fail* or *fael*, meaning "turf" or "sods." A "fail-dyke" is a turf-wall.

The Scots word *fail* is found in Old English as *weall*, with the same meaning: its Teutonic origin seems to be unquestionable. The Pictish *fahel*, Scots *fail*, and O. Eng. *weall* all mean apparently the same thing: "turf" or "sods"; and their common source is O. Ic. *vall*.

That the forms *fahel* and *val* are interchangeable is shown as well by the Bede MSS. as by the name of the Waal River (or V*aal* as it appears in its transplanted form in South Africa), which Tacitus (*Annals* ii. 6) calls the V*ahal*, a word meaning yellow or muddy, and having perhaps an affinity with O. Ic. *vall*, sods. *Vahal* would appear to be an early Low German form of V*aal*, as *fahel* may be of O. Ic. *vall*.

My conclusion therefore is, that *Peanfahel* is a hybrid, the first portion of which is Cymric, and the second portion Scandinavian. Its literal meaning is "the end of the turf rampart," for, by the Gaelic analogy, it appears likely that *fahel* has here not only the idea of turf, but that of a rampart made of turf sods. We know from Bede that this was the material of which Antonine's Wall was built;[7] its popular name, Grime's Dyke, may perhaps be derived from an O. Welsh word *grym*, meaning force, or strength.

The English name for Peanfahel, as Bede informs us, was Penneltun, which, with the retention of the Cym. *Pen*, is a contracted form of Pen-weall-town, or the town at

[7] B. i., c. 12.

the end of the turf rampart. Probably, therefore, Walton, near Carriden, is the representative of Bede's Peanfahel.

The argument supplied by the analysis of *Peanfahel*, that Pictish was a language of mixed Cymric and Teutonic elements, is reinforced by an examination of the names of the Pictish kings. These are given by the Pictish Chronicle in two series, the first of which is non-historical. But it contains one name, Dectotreic, which even Skene was forced to regard as being the same as Theodric; and he admits that four of the other names in the list have a Teutonic appearance.[8] His explanation of the presence of these Teutonic names in a list of Pictish kings, is an hypothesis based upon inadequate grounds.

The first series also contains the name "Brude," applied to twenty-eight of the kings consecutively, and followed in each case by an additional name. Apparently, therefore, "Brude" was a title of rank, although it is found in the second series of kings (in various forms) as a recurring personal name (*cf.* the English personal names, King, Prince, Duke, etc.). I suggest that the origin of the name may be traced to O. Fris. *Breud* or *Brida* (the historical Brudes sometimes appear as "Bridei") which equates German *ziehen*. According to Kluge, the verbal root of *ziehen* is *tuh* ("tug"), corresponding with an Aryan root *duk*, preserved in the Latin *duco*. Therefore Brude may have had the meaning of "duke" or "leader," like *Herzog* in German. In some texts, the Anglo-Saxon ealdormen are designated "dukes." It may be added that Scandinavian topography reveals the presence of "Brude" or "Bride" as a personal name.

But these twenty-eight Brude-names have a further peculiarity. Every alternate name has the prefix of "Ur." For example, the name Brude Pant is followed by Brude Ur-Pant; Brude Leo is followed by Brude Ur-Leo; and so

[8] *Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 209.

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related to A. S. *Nætan*, to conquer. Perhaps a preferable source is O. Ic. *Neytr*, which means good, or useful, when applied to persons.

Gartnait is apparently a compound word, the first part being possibly connected with the widely distributed root in the Teutonic languages, of which the A. S. form *geard* has sometimes the meaning of "land" or "region," while the latter portion of the name seems to have the root from which Naitan is derived.

Talorg or Talorgan is clearly Cymric, the literal meaning being "very bright front." Frontlet-wearing kings are mentioned in the Triads; and the name Talorgan (or Talargan) probably means the wearer of a silver frontlet.[11]

Another purely Cymric name in the authentic list of Pictish kings is that of Mailcu,[12] who was the father of King Brude, the ruler of the Picts in the time of St. Columba. We have in this name the *Cu* syllable that has given rise to what may be called the "hound" theory, the suggestion being that such names as Cu-chulain, Cu-stantin, Mail-cu are evidences of totemism, because Cym. *Ci* and Gae. *Cu* mean a dog or hound. The variants of these names, Con-chulain, Con-stantin, and Malchon, are held to be Celtic inflexions. But what of the fact that in Layamon's *Brut*, "Constantin" is the consistent rendering by one MS. (Cott. Caligula) and "Costantin" the rendering by another (Cott. Otho) under circumstances that exclude all questions of inflexion? "Cu" or "Co" is simply a contraction of "Con," and the latter is common enough in ancient Irish history as "Conn"; it is a form of *Cûn* (Cym.), leader, or chief. The prefix *Mail* or *Mael* is another stumbling-block, for it looks like the same word as *Mael*, bald or cropped, and is

[11] The Gaelic name Aodhan may have had, primitively, a similar signification.

[12] Bede gives this name as Meilochon; the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* has the form Malchon; and Nennius has Mailcun as the name of a powerful British King.

consequently incorporated in personal names, in the same sense as *Gilla* or *Giolla*, a servant. But we find from Gildas that the original form of the Cymric word was *Maglo*; he gives the name Maglocune, which is the same as Mailcu or Malchon.[13] *Magl* means a prince, and it would thus appear that Mailcu means, not the slave of the hound, but simply Prince Conn, alternatively, "the princely leader."

As already stated, there are only two words in existence that have been described by contemporaries as "Pictish," while there is a third (*Cartit*) which is described in Cormac's *Glossary* as belonging to the language of the Cruithne, who are generally called "Irish" Picts. But there are also some words forming a sentence, which are believed to belong to the Pictish vocabulary, and to form the only complete sentence in the Pictish language that has been discovered. These words are inscribed on what is known as the Drosten Stone[14] (so called from the initial word) at St. Vigeans, near Arbroath. The letters are *Saxon minusceles*, and certain peculiarities in their structure point to the eighth century as the probable period of the inscription. The district in which the stone was found lies well within what was the Pictish kingdom. The words on the Drosten Stone belong, beyond reasonable doubt, to the language spoken in that district before the Scottic conquest of the ninth century.[15]

Agreement has now been reached in the decipherment of the inscription (*Drosten ipe uoret ettforcus*); and it only remains to decide to what language it belongs, and what it means. But with precisely the same decipherment before

[13] The names of two British kings, Coinmael and Farinmael, elsewhere appear as Con-mægl and Farin-mægl.

[14] I do not propose to attempt to give any reading of the Newton Stone, for its characters have not yet been satisfactorily deciphered.

[15] "Sweno's Stone" (Sweyn's Stone), near Forres, is also apparently a Pictish relic. In a charter of the neighbouring lands of Burgie, in the reign of Alexander II., this stone is mentioned as *Rune Pictorum*. Clearly, therefore, the Scandinavian Runic emblems on this obelisk with the Danish name, were attributed to the Picts at so early a date as the reign of Alexander II.

them, commentators on the inscription have arrived at totally different conclusions. One writer,[16] believing the language to be Cymric, because he believes that the Picts were Cymric Celts, translated the inscription as "Drosten, thou wrought'st repentance." Another writer,[17] believing the language to be Gaelic, because he believes that the Picts were Gaelic Celts, translates it as "Drostan's: his rank (was) noble: his foster-father (was) Fergus." The authors of *The Welsh People* read it as "Drost's offspring Uoret for Fergus" (p. 17); amended (p. 50) to "Drost's nephew Voret for Fergus"; but to what language the original words are assigned I know not.

The first word "Drosten" is by common consent a personal name; and the last word, "Forcus," is generally believed to fall within the same category. Drust is one of the most noticeably frequent names in the Pictish list of kings, while Forcus is a variant of the name Fergus, that is not rare. Drost or Drusta, as we have already seen, is the Old Frisian form of a Teutonic word, meaning "chief magistrate."[18] The terminal "en" in Drosten may be the Old Frisian suffix, denoting a personal agent (*e.g.* Drochten, a lord). Fergus, or Forcus, is said to be the Gaelic equivalent of the Cymric Wurgust or Urgust, but it may be pointed out that "Ferigis" appears in the ninth century as a Teutonic name.[19] So much for what is, more or less, common ground in the reading of the inscription.

[16] Dr. W. Bannerman in *Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*, vol. xliv., pp. 343-352.

[17] Rev. D. MacRae in *Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*, vol. xliii., pp. 330-334.

[18] *Cf.* "Land-drost," a title in Dutch South Africa.

The fact that Drosten appears in history as an early Irish name (*e.g.*, St. Drostan, the reputed nephew of St. Columba, and "Drostan of the Oratory," who died in Meath in 717) does not, of course, prove its Celtic origin. In Irish legend it is a Cruithinian or Pictish name.

[19] Ferguson, *The Teutonic Name System*, p. 324. It is more likely, however, that Fergus is the Gaelic equivalent of the Cymric "Wurgust." Similarly, the Gaelic "Oengus" (Angus) is the Gaelic equivalent of the

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Summarising these translations, we arrive at the following meaning of the St. Vigeans inscription, viz.:—

"*Drostan of the race* of *Fergus fell* (*or died*) *here.*"

This interpretation satisfies at once philological demands, and the requirements of reasonable probability. But it can be shown that it is also confirmed by historical facts.

The Annals of Ulster and Tighernach both chronicle a battle fought in 728 A.D. between two Pictish forces, one under King Drust or Drostan, and the other under Angus or Unnust, the energetic and ruthless leader, who afterwards reigned for thirty years as the undisputed sovereign of the Pictish nation. In this battle Drostan was defeated and slain. The site of the battle was *Dromaderg Blathmig* (Tighernach), or *Drumderg-blathug* (Annals of Ulster). *Drumderg* means the Red Ridge, and the name *Blathmig* appears (as Skene suggests), in the modern place-name Kinblethmont, near St. Vigeans. But there is much stronger evidence for the conclusion that the site of this battle was in the parish of St. Vigeans. From the Redhead on the coast of Forfarshire, a ridge of Old Red Sandstone runs right through that parish; and having regard to the context, it cannot well be doubted that this is the Red Ridge of the Irish Annalists.

Skene shows that Alpin, the brother of Drostan, who fell at the Red Ridge, was of the line of Gabhran on his father's side; and the line of Gabhran was descended from Fergus, son of Erc, the founder of the Scottish race of Dalriadic kings. Therefore, Drostan was of the race of Fergus, and the fact is chronicled by the inscription, as might be expected, for descent from Fergus was indicative of noble ancestry. As Cleasby points out, "the ancient sagamen" of the Scandinavians "delighted" in genealogies, "and had a marvellous memory for lineages"; and exactly the same

characteristics distinguished the Irish and Highland bards and historians.

The cumulative proofs are therefore convincing that the St. Vigeans Stone marks the spot where the Pictish King Drostan fell in 728, or at any rate, where he died.[20] If that conclusion is accepted, it follows that the philological value of the inscription as a key to the Pictish language is great. For it shows that in the eighth century, the main element in that language was closely akin to, if not identical with, Old Icelandic, and that Cymro-Latin factors were also present.

A further example of this Scandinavian element in the Pictish language, and its lineal descendant, the neo-Scottish dialect, may be cited. In the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, there is an ancient banner, which for many generations was the cherished property of the Aberach branch of the Clan Mackay. Its age is unknown, but in Strathnaver it has long been a synonym for anything, the origin of which is so ancient as to be beyond the ken of tradition. On the banner is a hand with the fingers extended. Across the palm of the hand are the words *Be tren*. Round the hand are the words, V*erk visly and tent to ye end*. What do these words mean?

The banner being the property of a Highland family, a Gaelic origin has been sought for the motto, but no Gaelic key has been able to unlock its meaning, with the exception of the word *tren*. Yet the meaning of the motto is surely clear enough. *Be tren*, by commòn consent, means *Be strong*. The word *tren* is still alive in Irish, and is occasionally heard in Scots Gaelic. It is traceable to Cym. *tren*, strenuous; as a noun, it means "force" and "rapidity." The river-name "Trent" is probably derived from it.

[20] Duald MacFirbig states in his "Fragments" of Irish Annals, that in 727 Angus won three victories over Drust, whom he calls "King of Alba."

For the remaining words, however, no Celtic source will serve. But when we apply a Scandinavian key, it moves in the lock easily. *Verk* is from O. Ic. *Verka*, to work. *Visly* is from O. Ic. *Viss*, wise, or with knowledge. *Tent* is the familiar Scots word meaning "attend carefully." (French *attendre*).

Thus the full translation of the motto is, "*Be strong: work with knowledge* (*wisely*), *and keep the end steadfastly in view:* an excellent precept to which the custodians of the banner may have endeavoured to conform. Strength, wisdom, perseverance, and foresight are enjoined; possibly a counsel of perfection for mediæval Highland chiefs, but embodying statesmanlike virtues that apply to all times and all men.

The motto on the Aberach-Mackay banner supplements the inscription on the St. Vigeans stone in proving the Scandinavian and Cymric elements that preceded and co-existed with Gaelic in Scotland. Both are, in my view, philological monuments of uncommon importance.

It would appear, therefore, that when the Pictish nation was at the height of its power, the language spoken in the East of Scotland between the Grampians and the Firth of Forth had as its closest affinity the language spoken in Scandinavia at the same period, which goes by the name of "Old Danish." The last important settlement in Pictish territory before the establishment of Scottish ascendency was, as we have seen, Frisian; and I have shown that it probably extended from the Firth of Forth to the Grampians. Thus the Firth of Forth came to be called *Mare Fresicum*, as later it was called the Scottish Sea by the English, because the Scots exercised sovereignty over the lands north of the Firth occupied by Frisian colonists. The language spoken by these colonists profoundly affected in course of time the vernacular of East Scotland.

It will be observed that the *fahel* of *Peanfahel* takes the

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respects not easily distinguishable from that of the north-east of England. But there was no such predominance over the country north of the Forth. And to argue that the comparatively small number of Anglo-Saxon refugees who settled in Scotland during, and subsequently to, the reign of Malcolm Canmore were capable of imposing a new language upon the inhabitants of the country which they made their home, is contrary to all ideas of probability. Nor is it more likely that the large number of English prisoners who were carried captive into Scotland by Malcolm Canmore would be the means of displacing, in favour of an Anglo-Saxon tongue, the ancient language of their masters. These captives were driven out of the country after Malcolm's death, and it is a well-established fact that in subsequent reigns, the enmity of the Scottish people (especially the Celts) towards English and Norman settlers became a fruitful source of internal dissensions.[22]

The Norman barons who obtained lands and a permanent settlement in Scotland, introduced Norman usages, and added an unimportant element of Norman-French to the language; but their presence in the country does not affect the question under discussion.

There is consequently no escape from the conclusion, that the present Scots (originally Pictish) language is indigenous, and that its development, at any rate north of the Firth of Forth, has been almost entirely independent of English influences. Whence then was it derived? To that question I have attempted to give what appears to me to be a satisfactory answer. The modern Scots language is an admix-

[22] Barbour called the language in which he wrote, "Inglis." Gavin Douglas called the same dialect "Scottes." It was also called "quaint Inglis." This shows a recognition of its relationship with English; but with a difference. In Barbour's day, the Scots language was Gaelic, and the language called "Pictish," in the belief of that time, had disappeared. Therefore Barbour gave the literary language in which he wrote the name of its nearest congener. Probably it differed from the vernacular.

ture of the Teutonic dialects of the Pictish settlers, with some Cymric remains, and some additions of Gaelic introduced by the Scots from Ireland. The Celtic elements are less distinct, the further east they are traced, and on the coast of the ancient Pictish kingdom, as far north as the Grampians, they are only faintly discernible. These distinctions mark the points of social contact between the Celtic and Teutonic peoples, and the characteristics of the inhabitants of the areas so distinguished follow closely the lines of the linguistic demarcation.

The personal names complete the circle of Teutonic factors. Jamieson gives a long list of names in Angus alone, most of which are undeniably either of Scandinavian or Frisian origin;[23] and elsewhere, it has been pointed out that, for example, names such as Watson and Gibson, which are fairly familiar on the east coast of Scotland, are derived from the Frisian names Watse and Gibbe, while the suffix "son" is peculiarly Scandinavian.[24] The similarity of many words in common use in the same geographical area, with words in Old Frisian having the same meaning, is altogether too striking to be fortuitous. The English forms of these words are substantially different. As a distinguished foreign historian has aptly observed: ". . . The speech and the song of the Scottish ploughman not unfrequently receive their best illustration by a comparison with the expressions of the Holsteiner, Hadeler, or Frisic husbandman or mariner."[25]

The retention in Scots of the letter "c" with the guttural sound "ch," is sufficient proof of itself to show that the language did not come from England. For in Anglo-Saxon, the "c" was changed into "h" between the eighth and the

[23] *Dissertation*, p. xl.

[24] Bosworth (1848), p. 73. Similarly Ritson and Hodson are from the Frisian names Ritse and Hodse.

[25] *Lappenberg* (Thorpe), i., p. 108.

ninth centuries. Thus, in a Codex referred by Wanley to 737 A.D., we have a few lines of Caedmon, in which the word "mighty" appears as "mæcti," "Lord" as "drictin," and Almighty as "Allmectig." In the same lines, as modernised by King Alfred about 885, these words are written "mihte," "dryhten," and "Ælmightig,"[26] showing that in the interval the change from "c" to "h" had taken place; and that change has been maintained to the present day.[27] If the Anglo-Saxons, therefore, were the authors of the Scots language during the 11th and subsequent centuries, the "h" form would assuredly have been incorporated in that language. But the "c" (or guttural "ch") has always been, and is at the present day, a distinctive characteristic of Scots; it is retained, for example, in the word "micht," as it was in Anglo-Saxon up to the eighth century. Precisely the same peculiarity is apparent in Old Frisian, which, in the opinion of Mr. Halbertsma, an eminent Frisian linguist,[28] was originally distinguished from Anglo-Saxon only by slight differences of dialect, but about the middle of the fifth century, entered upon a phase of independent development.[29]

The dominant element among the Picts during the later period of their sovereignty was apparently Frisian. And that may be the explanation of the puzzling statement by

[26] Bosworth, p. 57. See Joyce on the gutturals in the North of Ireland (a Scottish inheritance). *The Origin and History of Irish Place Names*, p. 52.

[27] The guttural form is very pronounced at the beginning of Scottish literature (*cf.* Barbour's "Bruce").

In the *Durham Book* (a Northumberland glossary written about 900 A.D.) the "h" has superseded the "c." If, therefore, the Scots dialect came from Northumbria, how did it retain the "c" after it had been permanently shed by the Northumbrian dialect?

[28] His remarks are incorporated by Bosworth, p. 46.

[29] There are many words in the Scots language that are exactly the same in O. Fris.—*e.g.*, *mon* for man; *dochter* for daughter; *suster* for sister; *brocht* (O. Fris., *brôchte*) for brought; *thocht* (O. Fris., *thochte*) for thought; *thole* (O. Fris., *tholia*), to tolerate; and so on.

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it persisted as a spoken language, in districts contiguous to the Highlands as late as the sixteenth century.[32] Bi-lingualism kept Gaelic alive in Court circles (whether continuously or not) until the reign of James IV., who, we are told by the Spanish Ambassador, "spoke the language of the savages." But among the mass of the Lowland Scots it seems to have died out long before. Only in the West and North Highlands, where social contact with the Picts was at its minimum, did it retain permanently its hold on those Scots who became distinguished from their southern compatriots by the adjective "ancient," to signify their adherence to the old language, and the adjective "wyld," to signify their place in the scale of civilisation.

The statement made by John of Fordun about the languages spoken in Scotland in his day, shows clearly what the conditions were at the end of the fourteenth century. Fordun tells us that there were two languages, which he calls respectively "Scottish" and "Teutonic." The "Scottish" language was spoken by those who dwelt in the Highlands and outlying districts (the Isles); and the "Teutonic" by those who occupied the seaboard and the plains.

Thus the Highlanders and the Islesmen spoke the "Scottish" (Gaelic) tongue, while the people on the (east) coast, and the occupiers of the plains; in other words the Lowlanders, spoke a "Teutonic" tongue. If that Teutonic tongue was English, Fordun would have said so, and we must therefore assume that the language was structurally different from English. We are driven to the conclusion that this "Teutonic" tongue, for which Fordun could find no distinctive appellative, must have been a legacy from the Picts, a race whose name, by the end of the fourteenth century, had disappeared from history.

[32] Sir Thomas Craig, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, says that he remembers the time when the inhabitants of the shires of Stirling and Dumbarton spoke pure Gaelic.

But there must necessarily have been a large proportion of Scots among the dwellers on the coast and on the plains. What had become of their Scottish (Gaelic) speech? Obviously they had abandoned it, and adopted the "Teutonic" speech of the people among whom they had settled. And that is what Higden meant by saying that the Scots, as the result of living with the Picts, had adopted their speech. Thus Fordun and Higden explain one another, and by so doing, throw valuable light on the racial problem. And that the forefathers of these dwellers in the plains, who spoke a Teutonic tongue, were Picts, is shown by the early Welsh texts, in which the Picts are sometimes called *Peithwr*, or "men of the plains."[33] Similarly, the Low Country in Scotland is called in the *Book of Deer* the "Cruithnean plain."

It was not until the tenth century that the Scottish, or Gaelic, tongue was called "Irish" to show its origin, and to distinguish it from the "Teutonic" tongue, or "quaint Inglis," that had, by this time, usurped to itself the name of "Scottish." The latter has been called "Scottish" ever since, while the original Scottish language, afterwards called Irish, is now known by its most descriptive name of "Gaelic."[34]

[33] At one stage of these investigations, it seemed to me not impossible that this name, *Peith-wr*, or "men of the plains," might be the origin of the Roman name *Picti*, in contradistinction to *Albinnich*, "the people of the hills;" but further study showed that this view was scarcely tenable. However, Poitau (Pictavia) in France may have received its name from the level character of the land, and accordingly, the Pictones may have had their name from the topography of their country, instead of the contrary process.

[34] As already remarked, Scots dialect is impregnated with words of Celtic origin, the remains of the Cymric element incorporated in the Pictish language, and of the Gaelic language introduced by the Scots and mixed with the Pictish tongue. Here is another important difference between the Scots and the Northumbrian dialects.

CHAPTER XXIII.

An analysis of Scottish river-names, mountain-names, and island-names.

It will be well to have recourse once more to the proofs supplied by place-names, for reinforcing the correctness of the views just stated. I propose therefore to examine a few of the earliest and most characteristic names, excluding those already analysed in the Irish and Ptolemaic categories. I commence with the principal river-names.

Adder (Black and White): it has been suggested that this name is simply "water," with the loss of the initial "w." But that is not consistent with the earliest form *Edre*. Rather is the etymology A. S. *Edre*, meaning a water-course. This is proved by the town-name Edrom (Ederham), the village on the Edre.

Almond: apparently (from its early forms), a variant (see "Lomond") of *Avon*, river. Cym. *Afon*, or *Awon*.

Annan (early form *Anant*): probably Cym. *Nant*, brook.

Aray (from which Inveraray takes its name): Skrine appropriately calls this river "the furious Aray." It is a Scandinavian name, O. Ic. *Œrr* (pron. like "Air"), furious. The termination is O. Ic. *á*, river.

Awe: Cym. *Aw*, a fluid, or a flowing.

Ayr: see Aray. The root is the same.

Bran, Brahan, Brander: Gae. *Bran*, a mountain stream. The source is probably O. Ic. *Brana*, to rush forward, or to fall violently (*cf.* Scots *Brane*, mad or furious). The suffix of Brander is Cym. *dwr*, water.

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lethargic, or inert), but that description is only partially appropriate, and probably Cym. *Dwf*, what glides, is preferable.

Don and Do*on*: an early form of Don, viz., Deon (Aberdeon), suggests a derivation similar to that of Devon. An alternative etymology is to connect it with Dee and *awon*. It is a twin of the Dee, and it is believed that at one time it united with that river near its efflux. Its channel has certainly been altered. It is noteworthy that so important a river as the Don is not mentioned by Ptolemy. The Don divides for a short distance into two branches, which reunite, enclosing a river-island to the north of Kintore.

The Doon is formed by the junction of two streams.

D*ouglas*: black stream or rivulet. Cym. *Du*, black, and *glas*, already analysed. G*las* occurs fairly frequently in Scottish stream-names, sometimes without the initial letter (e.g., Finlass and Kinlass), when used in a compound. *Duglais* in Welsh, is translated as a "black stripe."

Earn: an important and much disputed river-name. Its cognateness with *Erin* (Ireland), though usually assumed, is more than doubtful. The early forms suggest Cym. *Erin*, moving, *Erain*, having impulse; but a more obvious relation is suggested by O. Ic., *Ern*, brisk or vigorous, which fits the flow of all the Earns. O. Ic. *Ern*, and Cym. *Erain*, may be radically associated (*cf.* River Erne in Ireland).

Elliott: the river root *El* and *ott* or *oich*, water. *Elliock* has the same meaning (*cf.* Teviot).

Ericht: a hybrid. Here we have *icht* for *ach*, river (*cf. muir n'icht*). *Er* or *Ar* = O. Ic. *Œrr*, furious. The Erichts are turbulent streams (see "Aray" and "Ayr").

Esk: Cym. *Wysg*, a current or stream.

Ewe: Cym. *Ew*, what glides or is smooth.

Findhorn (Findearn): *Find*, clear, added, apparently, to the original "Earn" (see "Earn"). The Gaelic name of the river is *Erne*.

Fleet: O. Ic. *Fljót*, a river.

F*orth:* Cym. *Fford*, a passage; Eng. *Ford*, Scots *Forth*, an inlet of the sea. O. Ic. *Fjordr* (nominal form *Firdi*, i.e., *Firthi*) shows the origin of "Firth" (see the "Bodotria" of Tacitus).

The Forth is called *Aghmore* (the great river), in a map published early in the fourteenth century.

G*ala:* Cym. *Gal*, clear or fair; or from Cym. *Gwallaw*, to pour.

G*irvan:* an old form is *Garwane*. Cym. G*war*, gentle, and *afon*.

Irvine: a hybrid. An old form is *Orewin*. O. Ic. *Örr*, swift. *Win* = *awon*, river.

Isla: early forms, *Ylif* and *Ilefe*. Cym. *Yl*, denoting a motion, and *yf*, a fluid. *Hylif*, apt to flow. Sans. root *Il*, to move.

Kelvin: Cym. *Cell* (Corn. *Kelly*), a grove, and *afon*, the wooded river, an appropriate name.

Lauder (or Leader): Cym. *Llathyr*, glittering. (Old forms, *Leder*, *Ledre*, and *Lawedir*; a later form is *Lawther*.)

Leith: (Water of), and *Leithen* are probably from A. S. *Lád*, *a* channel, Scots *Leth*.

An old form of Leith is *Leth*. O. Fris. *Leith* means ferry. This derivation seems more likely than from Cym. *Lleithiaw*, to moisten.

Leven: usually attributed to Cym. *Llevn*, smooth. But an etymology that is phonetically sounder is, I suggest, a compound of *Lee* and *afon*, shortened (as was the cus-

tom) to Leven. The name also occurs in England. The old name of Lennox (Loch Lomond) was *Levenax*, or *Levenach*. *Lee* (Cym. *Lli*) means a stream (Cym. *Llifaw*, to flow).

Lyon: may be a doublet of Leven. But it may come from Cym. *Llion*, "an aggregate of floods," for the Lyon has a great number of mountain tributaries.

Mark and *Markie:* this name is found in four districts, all in the Pictish area; a suggestive circumstance. It means "boundary-river," and is derived from O. Ic. *Merki-á*, with that meaning.

Nairn: Cormac equates the obsolete word *Naire* with Gae. *glan* (Cym. *glain*), pure, and *Nairn* with "what is pure" (? Cym. *Nur*, a pure body). The earliest forms of the name are "Narn" and "Narne." In Gaelic the name is *Uisge Nearne* (? the Earn Water), and it may be that we have here another of the "Earn" names already discussed. The river formerly emptied itself into the Sea at Auld-earn, a name that supports the etymology I have suggested.

Oich: the O. Gae. form of Cym. *Ach*, a fluid. *Ach* is found as a river-suffix in Wales, and is usually translated as "river."

Orr, Orrin, Urr, Urray, and *Urie:* all from O. Ic. *Örr*, swift. There is no necessity to go to a Basque root for these names.

Oykell: here we have a curious combination of Cym. *Ach* (O. Gae. *Oich*), a fluid with the river root *el*. (Old forms Okel, Ochell, and Akkell).

Peffer: Cym. *Pefr*, radiant, an appropriate name for the Peffer (Strathpeffer), in Ross-shire. There are "Peffer" burns elsewhere in Scotland, and also in England.

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and "hollow" are derived. Cym. *Il*, what moves, is an alternative derivation, if the Ullie is Ptolemy's *Ila*. It is possible that the original name took a Scandinavian form under Norse influence; Ullie has certainly a Scandinavian termination. The Ilen in Cork probably comes from the root *Il*.

Y*than:* old form *Athyn*. Probably from Cym. *Athu*, denoting motion, the suffix *yn* being a fragment of *afon*. Gae. *Ath*, a ford, not probable.

A few of the principal mountain-names may now be analysed. They are not of great ethnological interest, some of them being obviously late, and some taking their origin from neighbouring features, such as lochs and rivers. Probably only the loftiest mountains retain their most ancient nomenclature: those that stood out from their fellows prominently; and even this rule is not without exceptions.[2] As the hilly districts received new populations, so the less important hills would receive new designations. We can thus understand the names of the less conspicuous mountains in Scotland having a Gaelic form, while the towering mountains dominating the landscape are generally found, on analysis, to have a Cymric root, though the original Cymric *Pen* has been Gaelicised to *Ben*.[3]

The various "Cairns," e.g., Cairngorm, Cairntoul, etc., betray the presence of Cym. *Carn*, a heap; *Carnedd*, a heap of stones; as the various "Craigs" are the Cym. *Craig*, a stone, or rock. (Eng. "Crag" is, of course, another form of the word.) Similarly, a name like Ben Cruachan (Irish *Croagh*, the guttural having been lost in Ireland) comes from Cym. *Crug*, a heap.

[2] The highest mountains have frequently the most unimaginative names, *e.g. Benmore*, the big mountain or peak.

[3] Quite probably many of the present mountain names are Gaelic forms of pre-existing Cymric names.

The suffix "gorm," in a name like Cairngorm, is believed to be the Gae. *gorm*, blue, but a mountain takes a blue hue only when seen from a distance. Cym. *gwrm*, dun, or dusky, a colour which agrees with the fact, is a more probable derivation. The "toul" of Cairntoul is referable to Cym. *twl*, what is rounded, again agreeing with the fact. The curious name, Ben Macdhui, in the same group of mountains, is an obvious corruption, as indeed the different modes of spelling the name (e.g., Ben Muich Dhui), testify. Nothing but nonsense can be made out of a name like this, if we turn to Gaelic or English for an etymology; but we find in Cym. *mwci*, a fog, *mwcan*, a cloud of fog, what is perhaps a satisfactory explanation, while *dhui* may well stand for Cym. *duawg*, gloomy, or black. On the other hand, Ben-y-gloe, appears to mean the bright or cloudless mountain. (Cym. *glo*, what is bright.) The presence of Cym. *y* (the) is significant.

Ben Nevis and Ben Lomond seem to derive their names, one from the river Nevis, and the other from the celebrated loch over which it towers. If this is the fact, we find the root of Nevis (*is* = *wysg*), in that of Naver, which has already been analysed; while "Lomond," as we have seen, is the same as "Leven" (*cf.* Almond for Avon). But if, as seems less likely, the process was the contrary one, we have a choice of suitable derivations for the mountain-name. O. Ic. *Gnaefa*, to rise high, to tower, may be balanced with Cym. *Nyf*, snow (Lat. *nix*, gen. *nivis*). Ben Nevis is both a high mountain—the highest in Britain—and it is snow-capped all the year round. For "Lomond," Cym. *Llumon*, a beacon, might be suggested, but it is much more probable that the mountain took its name from the loch, like Ben Hope, from Loch Hope (O. Ic. *Hóp*, a small land-locked bay), and Ben Avon, from Loch and Glen Avon. This view seems to be confirmed by the fact that the West Lomond Hill in Kinross has Loch Leven at its base.

Ben Ledi and Ben Lawers in Perthshire both suggest a Cymric origin: *Llêd*, broad, and *Llôr*, what bulges out. But Schiehallion in the same county is difficult to account for in a Celtic language. The first syllable looks like *Síd* or *Síth*, a fairy mountain-residence, and the shape of the mountain suggests O. Ic. *háll*, smooth, as the source of the description; or possibly *hallandi*, slope.

In names like the Sidlaw Hills and Venlaw, the A. S. *hláw*, shows itself unmistakably. Its presence in Peebleshire (Venlaw) is intelligible, but all existing ethnological notions fail to explain its presence north of the Firth of Tay. The Ochil Hills have an indisputably Cym. name: *Uchel*, high or lofty. And Ben Voirlich, literally the large flat stone (Cym. *Mawr*, large, and *llêch*, a flat stone), has the Cymric rather than the Gaelic form.

Names like Sliach and Slioch are a little puzzling until we find from early forms that they are contractions of "Slevach," and so we find in them the Irish "Slieve," already discussed. There is a "Slioch" in Ross-shire (*Sliabhach*), west of the mighty Ben Wyvis, which is a name that presents some difficulties. It is apparently a corruption of a Gaelic word *fuathas* (which appears in a charter as *Uaish*), expressing prodigiousness of size (Wyvis has an enormous lateral bulk). It is impossible to say how far back this name goes; there are no early forms extant.

Turning now to the island nomenclature, I shall examine a few of the principal names, not previously analysed.

Ailsa Craig: a pleonasm. Cym. *Allt*, Gae. *Ail*, a rock. *Craig*, a stone. Corn. *Alsa*, a high cliff.

Arran: the present name accords with the most ancient forms. The source is apparently Cym. *Aran*, a high place, frequently found in Welsh mountain nomenclature. The Aran Islands of Galway in Ireland must have their name from the same source.

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Colonsay: has the same derivation as Coll, (with an affix: Cym. *Colon*, a peak), as shown by the early forms, one of which, *Golwonche*, seems to contain a suffix *ynys*, or *inch*, island. George Buchanan says of Colonsay that "there is a hazel-wood in it." Evidently he derived the name from Cym. *Collen*, a hazel. It is impossible to conect the name with St. Columba.

Cumbraes (Great and Little): early forms Kumbrey and Cumbraye. This name means, I think, beyond doubt, the ridge island (O. Ic. *Kambr*, a ridge, and *ey*, an island; not the island of the *Cymri*). It is thus derived from the fact that the Great Cumbray has a ridge called the Shoughends extending nearly from end to end of the island; and the name is also appropriate for the sister isle.

Cumbernauld shows in its early forms the same origin, and takes its name probably from Barrhill, as does Kirkintilloch (anciently (Cym.) Cairpentaloch), from the Roman fort on the hill (see Barra). Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld were formerly one parish.

But Comrie is from quite another source, viz., Gae. *Comar*, a confluence, from Cym. *Cymmer*, with the same meaning. Comrie in Perthshire is situated at the confluence of the Earn and the Ruchill, and Comrie in Ross-shire at the confluence of the Conon and the Meig. Cummertrees in Dumfries seems to mean the joined hamlets (Cym. *tre*), viz., Cummertrees, Powfoot, and Kelhead.

It may be doubted whether even Cumberland has its name from the *Cymri*. May it not mean the land of mountain ridges? The name *Cymri* is probably related to Cym. *Cymhar*, a partner, and has thus the same force as *Gael*. Sir John Rhys, whose authority is unchallengeable, gives *Combrox*, compatriot, as the earliest source. The ideas of "compatriot" and "partner" are not unrelated.

Eigg: this name probably means the Ridge Isle, from O. Ic. *Egg*, a ridge. The "ridges" may have been suggested by the dominating appearance of *Scure-Eigg*, a rocky basaltic hill with columns rising in ranges. Quite as likely a derivation is from O. Ic. *Egg*, sharp-edged, in allusion to the island's serrated outline.

Flannan Isles: "Called after St. Flannan." But who was St. Flannan? This seems to be another instance of a saint manufactured (see St. Kilda) to explain the name of a place that has sacred remains. In Lewis the isles are usually called the "Flannels" (Scots "flannen" for "flannel" reversed). The meaning of "Flannan Isles" is probably the "squally isles": root *flann*, a gust of wind, common in Shetland (and therefore doubtless of Scandinavian origin). *Cf.* Scots *flannin*, *e.g.*, "the wind's *flannin* doon the lum."

Gigha: the Scandinavians named this island *Gudey*, literally God-island. As I have incidentally mentioned, they called their temple-priests "gods," and they may have applied the name to *Gudey*, on finding there evidences of Christian worship. It contains the ruins of an old chapel.

Holm: a name given to numerous islets, especially in Orkney. From O. Ic. *Hólmi*, islet. But the Holms in the south of Scotland are meadowland. They were apparently so called for the same reason as the Gae. *Inch*, island, was applied sometimes to meadows, especially in Perthshire, an explanation of which has already been given.

Iona: Adamnan called it *Ioua*, and Bede *Hy*, and these being the earliest forms, are therefore the most authoritative. It is quite comprehensible that *Ioua* should take the form of Iona, not only because of the similarity of the forms, and the inflexional suggestion which they convey,

but also owing to the fact that *Iona* is the Greek equation of *Columba*, or dove, and *Hiona* would therefore be regarded as the equivalent of Columba's Isle.[3] The island was frequently called Hi Coluim-Cille, later Icolmkill.

Ioua and *Hy* show suggestively Teutonic forms. Ioua = *Ouwa*, O. H. German, island (literally the "water-place" or "water-land"), while *Hy* or *Ey* is the Scandinavian form of the same word. Sometimes the name of *Iona* appears simply as "I" (i.e., *Ey*). There is no Celtic word from which can be derived a meaning that has any approach to likelihood. This name of itself is sufficient to show the presence of a Teutonic element on the west coast, long before the historical settlement of the Norseman.[4]

Islay: the earliest forms are Ilea, Ile, and Yla. It has been suggested that the name is of Basque origin; but that does not explain it.

Il may be Cymric, and I suggest, tentatively, either of the following sources, viz.:—*Hyll*, gloomy or wild; *Yll*, what tends to part, in allusion to the shape of the island as intersected by Lochs Gruinart and Indal. But it is by no means improbable that, like O. Eng. *Ile* and *Yle*, the name just means "isle," and is derived from *insula*.

Jura: has a Cymric name. Early forms are Doirad, Dure, and Dewra. The source is Cym. *Dur* (*durus*), and the name therefore means the hard or barren island. A "dour" man is a "hard" man.

Kerrera: apparently a pleonasm. (Early forms Kjarbarey, and Carberry.) Cym. *Caer*, and O. Ic. *borgarey*, the fort island (see Barra and Burra).

[3] St. Columba was called by the Gael, Columcille, *i.e.*, Colum of the cell or church, presumably to distinguish the great ecclesiastic from others of the same name.

[4] Adamnan's form, *Iou-a*, corresponds with the Scandinavian terminations which he gives to Mull (Mal-ea), Islay (Il-ea), and Eigg (Eg-ea).

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Lewis appears in various garbs, a full list of which, with the various derivations, I have given elsewhere. (*History of the Outer Hebrides*, p. xxviii.) The name has proved a fine field for etymological guessing, in which I myself have taken part, with the same unsatisfying results as others. The earliest form is in an Irish (supposed twelfth century), MS., where it is *Leodus*, and the Saga forms give *Ljódús* and *Ljòdhùs*. O. Ic. *Ljódús*, song-house, will not do at all for the name of an island. The name, as it appears in the Orkney Saga, must be a Norse rendering of a pre-Norse word.[5] In several early forms (one being as early as the thirteenth century), Gae. *Leog*, a marsh, or a place full of lochs, is distinctly visible; while another form (also thirteenth century), shows in *Lodoux*, the same form as *Leodus*. Plainly there is an equation here between *Lod* and *Leog*; and so, in fact, there is, for both signify a marsh in modern Gaelic. *Lod*, in Irish Gaelic, means a puddle, and *Lodan*, a thin puddle; and the latter is alive in Scots dialect as *Loddan*, a small pool. That is also one of the meanings of *Lod* in Scots Gaelic. In *Leodhas*, modern Gaelic preserves, approximately, the old form of "Lewis."

I find an English author using the expression "lakes or lodes," which suggests that *Lod* is a well-distributed root. It is related to Lat. *Lutus*, which means, literally, "what is washed over with water"; hence mire and bog. The Celtic source of the root is probably

[5] There was a *Ljodús* in Bohuslän, Sweden (a famous resort of Vikings), and if the first arrivals of the later Scandinavian colonists of Lewis came from that district, it is quite intelligible how the Scandinavian rendering of the name of the island took that form. The O. Ic. affix *hús*, tacked on to the name by the Northmen, persists in all the forms of "Lewis" down to the present day. It appears in the names of large districts in Norway and Sweden. I think it will be found that each of these districts had a fortified castle, from which *hús* may have been originally derived.

Cym.[6] *Llaid*, mire; *Llaith*, moist; or perhaps *Llyddus*, diffusive, pouring. *Leodus* thus means a boggy place, and the later forms *Leogus*, *Leoghuis*, and *Leoghas* mean the same thing, being derived from *Leog*, a marsh (Ir. and Scots Gae.). The name is completely appropriate.

Leeds, in England (early form *Loidis*), has the same meaning as Lewis. Leeds was, in fact, as discoveries have shown, the site of a lake-village. Louth, in Ireland, and in Lincolnshire, may also be derivable from *Lod*. Lothian, an early form of which is *Loidis* (like Leeds), is probably referable to the same root. All these places were no doubt characterised originally by marshy soil.

Lismore: usually translated "big garden," an unlikely etymology. Early forms are Lesmoir and Lesmor; later Lismoir. The prefix is probably the Irish *Lis*, a fortified dwelling, Cym. *Llys*, a palace. There are vestiges in the island of several fortified camps, and an old castle with a fosse and drawbridge, attributed by tradition to a Danish origin.

Luing: O. Ic. *Lyng*, Swed. *Ljung*, heather, the Heather Isle. But perhaps from Cym. *Llong*, ship, i.e., a place of call for ships (Cormac says that *Long* is a "Saxon" word).

Muck: an unlovely name for the romantic atmosphere of the Isles. Possibly derived from O. Ic. *Mjúkr*, fertile, but it may be a late Gaelic name meaning "swine-island" (*Eilan-nan-Muchd*). Buchanan calls it *Insula Porcorum*, and says that an islet called "Horse Island" adjoins it, a narrow channel separating them.

[6] Perhaps this root *Llaid* is to be found in some of the "Lady" prefixes in Scottish names (*cf.* Ladybank in Fifeshire, formerly Ladybog). But *cf.* Cym. *Lleddy*, flat. In some names, *e.g.*, Ladykirk and Ladywell, "Lady" is the Virgin Mary.

Oronsay or Oransay (several): St. Oran's Isle. The parent church was in Oronsay adjoining Colonsay.

Pabba or *Pabbay* (Hebrides) and *Papa* (Orkney and Shetland) *Isles:* as a rule, erroneously translated as "priest-isle." These names, as already pointed out, denote the habitations of Christian anchorites. O. Ic. *Papi,* hermit (not priest) (*cf.* Cym. *Pab,* father).

Papill and *Paplay* (Orkney and Shetland): mean "hermit's cave," the "l" being the remains of O. Ic. *hol,* Dan. *hul,* cave, as shown by early forms. The name appears in Lewis in the form of *Bayble.* Paplay has the additional *ey,* isle.

Raasay. This name may mean the "Channel Isle" (Raasay Sound), from O. I. *Rás,* a channel. But with perhaps greater probability, it may mean Raga's Isle, a personal name that appears in the *Saga of Burnt Njal.* The elision of the "g" would be according to rule in a Gaelicised name.

Rona: not St. Ronan's Isle, but from O.Ic. *Hraun,* wilderness.

Rum: a queer name, which has served *Punch* usefully. It comes, perhaps, from O. Ic. *Rúmr* (O. Fris. *Rum*), wide or broad, the island being broad in proportion to its length. Or, it may be O. Ic. *Rúm,* a place, or seat, though the island can never have been a desirable settlement, except for pasturage.

Shetland: called Hjaltland in Norse Sagas. A personal name, but *Hjalt* (Swed.) = *Hjelte,* hero (?Viking). The Shetlands were long a rendezvous of Vikings. The names of the islands in the Shetland group are decidedly Norse.

Shiant, or *Siant, Isles:* in the Minch. Cym. *Sant,* a saint. One of the isles, *Eilean-na-Kily,* had a hermit's cell.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

An analysis of characteristic prefixes in Scottish place-names.

From the river, island, and mountain names of Scotland, we turn now to the names of districts and towns. This is not a book of place-names; and all that I can hope to do, by means of selecting for analysis a few of the oldest and most outstanding of the district and town names, is to illustrate their general character. First of all, however, we may glance profitably at some of the most characteristic of the prefixes in Scottish topography (which are of more importance than the descriptive syllables), and see what ethnological suggestions they may offer. Many of these are common to Ireland and Scotland, and a certain degree of overlapping is therefore unavoidable.

Aber and *Inver*: a battle of words has been fought over these prefixes, in support, mainly, of the various theories held about the racial affinities of the Picts. *Aber* has generally been regarded as a characteristically Cymric word, while *Inver*, by common consent, has been accepted as denoting, in a peculiarly emphatic way, the presence of a Gaelic people. But Cym. *Ynfer*, an influx, has a similar meaning to Cym. *Aber*.

The oldest forms of *Aber* that have been preserved are *Aebber*, *Abur* and *Apur*. It is a compound of Cym. *Ab*, denoting either quickness of motion (hence "ape"), or with perhaps greater probability, *Eb*, signifying issuing out, and Cym. *ber*, which is a mutation of *mer*, meaning what is dropped off, or parted, or received; the compound thus conveying the idea of a confluence.

Aber in Wales is usually applied to the mouth of a river, where the fresh water mingles with the sea. It is translated as "confluence," or (with a more extended meaning) "port."

Ynfer is compounded of Cym. *Yn*, in, and Cym. *fer*, another mutation of *mer* (*meru*, to drop), indicating where the water drops into another river, or the sea. *Aber* has thus rather a more extended meaning in Welsh than *Ynfer*. But the root is essentially the same.

In Scotland, *Aber* usually denotes a confluence of waters as in Wales, but occasionally there is no confluence to explain the prefix. Yet, a junction with a loch, or a confluence of two insignificant burns, now dried up, perhaps, or having an altered course, would be sufficient to explain a prefix that is sometimes applied simply to marshy ground. We find a curious application of *Aber* in the place-name *Lochaber*, which acquired that name from the fact, apparently, that there is a chain of lochs in that district connected with one another.

But in the hands of the Gael, *Inver* (Scots Gae. *Inbhir*) has acquired a distinct secondary meaning, viz., that of pasture. The ground enclosed by a river confluence, or (less obviously) where a river falls into the sea, would possess natural advantages for pasturage; hence, probably, the reason for the transition of meaning. In Irish Gae. *Inbhear* means both the mouth of a river and pasture, and one form of the Irish word *Iniur* (pl. *Inuir*) is reflected in the early spellings of *Inver*, which are generally *Inner* and *Inuer*.

Inver in Scotland is evidently a transplantation from Ireland, where it also figures in topography. It has a tendency to displace the earlier *Aber* (e.g., *Inverin qui fuit Averin*)[1] and sometimes the two are found in close

[1] Evidently a form of Aberin, though Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 221), thinks Averin was the name of a person; he reads *qui* as *que*.

proximity (e.g., Abernethy on the Nethy in Perthshire, and Invernethy on the same river).

Ach or *Auch:* Irish form *Agh* or *Agha*. Invariably, I think, interpreted as Gae. *Achadh*, a field (see Irish prefixes).

It is frequently applied to water (e.g., Auchenbeatty, a stream, Loch Achall or Auchall, Loch Auchlossen, Loch Achray, Loch Achenreoch), and to villages that are situated near loch or rivers (e.g., Achnasheen, etc.); and sometimes to islands (e.g., Aghinish in Ireland). Water cannot be a field, nor does "field" designate an island-name convincingly.

Achadh, a field, is clearly inapplicable in other instances (e.g., Auchingeith, Auchengelloch, Auchinleck, Auchensaugh, which are all hills). A hill and a field cannot be the same thing, nor is "field" a fit description of the dells and valleys that have the prefixial *Auch*.

I am persuaded that the vague word "field" cannot have been the original meaning of *Achadh* or *Agh* (Irish), or *Ach* or *Auch* (Scottish). I believe that *Haugh* (*gh* guttural) in the Lowlands and *Auch* in the Highlands of Scotland are essentially the same words, derived from the same source,[2] viz., O. Ic. *Hagi*, pasture, with which A. S. *Haga* and Ger. *Hag*, signifying an enclosure, are cognate. If the test of "pasture" is applied to land-names with the prefix *Agh* or *Auch*, it will be found that they yield in all cases a satisfying meaning. The places so described must have been, and in many cases still are, pasture-grounds.

But *Ach* or *Auch*, "pasture," must be carefully distinguished from *Ach* or *Auch* (also *Eck*), "water," which as a prefix frequently appears, as I have shown,

[2] Auchencrow (Berwickshire) has an early form Hauchincrew, and Auchincruive (Dumbarton) appears as Hackencrow. This is the Lowland *Haugh*.

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Another favourite of the "Auchter" species, particularly beloved by deep-throated Scots as a test in Scottish gutturals, is Auchtermuchty in Fife. Early forms are Hucdirmukedi, Utermokedy, and Utremukerty, which have a sufficiently appalling look to deter aspiring Southerners from excessive ambition in the pronunciation of Scottish place-names. This may be a hybrid: Cym. *Uchder*, to which is appended what seems to be (in the last form cited) O. Ic. *mjúkr*, soft, or fertile. The terminational *ti* or *dy* is Cym. for "house" (*ty*), or (with a more extended meaning), village. An alternative derivation suggested by some of the other forms is from Cym. *môch*, swine, and *ty*, house.

Auchter is not peculiar to Scotland: it is found as *Ochter* and *Ochtar* in some ancient place-names in Ireland. The form *Ochter*, as shown by early records, is an older form in Scotland than *Auchter*.

Bal: one of the commonest prefixes in Scottish topography. Another form of the Irish B*ally* already analysed.

Bel, *Belly*, and B*illy:* O. Ic. *Bil*, an open space. Unlikely to be corruptions of *Bal*.

B*lair:* Gae. *Blàr*, a plain. Probably the root is to be found in Cym. *Ble*, a plain.

Cat, or *Caith*, *Ket*, and *Keith*. An examination of the place-names containing, or composed of, any of these variants betrays the existence of a pitfall in lumping together, under one meaning, names of a similar spelling or pronunciation. *Cat* and its variants have several distinct interpretations in British place-names. I use the word "British" advisedly, because the *Cat* names are found in England, as well as in Scotland, sometimes in the form of *Ket* (e.g., Rothket or Rothketh, Penket or Penketh, Hesket or Hesketh). We find that form

in Scotland in the names Keith, Inch-Keith (Firth of Forth and Peterhead), Inverkeithing, and Dalkeith (anciently Dalchet); the last shows that Bathgate (anciently Bathchet) belongs to the same category. The most outstanding name in the "Cat" group is Caithness; and Pencaitland (*Ket* appears in an old form of the same name, showing the identity of "Caith" and "Ket") shows the same root.

I have seen five explanations of "Cat" or "Keth" as applied to Caithness. (1) It got its name from the fact of its being infested with wild cats, exterminated after a struggle! (2) From the German *Catti*. (3) From *Cat* (Gae.), a battle. (4) From Caith or Got, one of the seven legendary sons of Cruithne, the eponymous of the Picts. (5) From Cym. *Coed* (*Coit*), a wood.

The first may be quietly ignored;[3] the second has not a shred of evidence in its support and is inherently improbable;[4] the third is a vague guess; the fourth is the eponymic method of escaping from a difficulty; and the fifth, though by far the most rational of these etymologies, is not satisfactory. It will not do to assume that a name like Chetwood, or Chatwood, is a pleonasm, composed of Cym. and A. S. equivalents.

"Cat" is sometimes associated with stones. There is the celebrated Catstane at Kirkliston, Edinburghshire, which formed the subject of a notable essay by Sir James Y. Simpson. There is also a Catstone at Ashnagh in West Meath, mentioned by Mr. Borlase, who

[3] The wild cat figures in the arms of Clan Chattan.

[4] One of the Keiths (Earls Marischal) is said to have been entertained by a Prince of Hesse on the assumption that they had a common ancestry in the *Catti*. In the names *Catti* and *Hesse*, we see an example of the *C* and *H* mutation. A further example is provided by Cym. *Corn* and English Horn, a butt or point (see "Edington," chap. xxv.).

describes also a dolmen at Castlemary in Cork, called, among other names, the Catta Stones.[5] The same author mentions the "Duyvels Kut" at Drenth in Holland, a dolmen which got its name from the passage under the covering stones. The Irish Cat-stones received their name for the same reason: the existence of a passage-way, or a hole. It seems, therefore, that in this sense of the word, "Cat" comes from the same source as the English word "gate," viz., A. S. *geat*, a gap, or opening. The Cat-stanes of the Roxburgh peasant are upright stones supporting the old-fashioned grate, i.e., they enclose a space or hole.

Mr. M'Clure (who supports the *Coed* origin of "Cat")[6] states that *Cett* is equated in an early charter with "tumulus," and it is a fact that the inscription on the celebrated Catstane at Kirkliston commences with the words, *In oc tumulo*. A tumulus formerly existed about sixty yards from the stone, and it would appear likely that, for some reason, the stone may have been removed to its present site from its original position at the tumulus. The association of Catstones with dolmens and tumuli, taken in conjunction with the meaning of *Cat* (opening or hole) shows that Catstones were simply gravestones.

Now, in Scottish topography, we find this idea exemplified in such places as the Cat Law, one of the Grampians, where there is a very large circular cairn on the summit, and Catachol (or Catagill) in Arran (O. Ic. *gil*, ravine or gully), where there is a green mould said to be the grave of a famous sea-king, Arin (the eponymic method once more), slain by Fionn. In favour, however, of the Cat Law (for example), being derived from *Cat*, a battle (Cym. *Câd*), there is the

[5] *Dolmens*, pp. 372 and 758.

[6] *British Place-Names*, p. 181.

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Apparently, *Cat* in this sense is a relative of Cym. *Cader* (probably derived from *Cadyr*, strong), which word we find in Cadder, Lanarkshire, where there are remains of Antonine's Wall. But the most notable example in Scotland of *Cader*, a hill-fort, is Caterthun, where we find the Gae. *dun* Anglicised as *thun*, and tacked on to the Cym. *Cader*, Caterthun thus meaning by a pleonasm, the hill-fortress. *Caer* is a variant of *Cader*, and as we have seen, *Cat* and *Caer* are equated. The members of this group are probably related, either to *Câd* (Cym.), a battle (the Gae. form of which is *Cat*), or, more probably, to Cym. *Cadw*, to keep, preserve, or guard.

Nennius mentions a place in Wales which he calls Cetgueli, the modern Kidwelly in Caermarthenshire. There was an old fort at Kidwelly, and there can be little doubt that we have here another form of *Cat*, a fort or castle.

The third and most important meaning of *Cat* is associated with a word in Scots dialect, *Ket*, which means exhausted land, or a spongy peat (Ketlands). To this category Caithness, Keith, and other place-names of a kindred character belong. The English word "heath," originally meaning a treeless, untilled plain in the Teutonic languages, has been evolved, in Skeat's opinion, from an Aryan base, *kaita*, a pasture, or heath. Kluge is in practical agreement with this by bringing the Teu. *heide* from the pre-Teut. *káitî*. In O. French, *gatine* means a desert.[8]

A further meaning of "Ket" in Scottish nomenclature is associated with water. There is a streamlet in

[8] In old maps of Sutherland, the word *Chatt* appears in the topography as signifying, evidently, the nature of the land which it defines. Kettings, Coupar-Angus (old forms Kethynnes and Kathenes), seems to mean "heath-pastures." There may be some association between land of this character and the *Tir Caeth*, bondsmen's land, of the Welsh.

Wigtownshire called the Ket; there are various Keith waters; and a stream in Lanarkshire called the Kittock. The Ketlochy, a small burn, runs through Dunkeld like a sewer. The word comes from O. Ic. *Keyta*, foul water. This etymology seems to be confirmed by the method formerly followed of catching salmon on the Keith in Blairgowrie. Clay was thrown into the river, and the fish were caught in nets while the water continued muddy. Finally, "Keith" is applied in Scots dialect to a bar laid across a river, to prevent salmon from getting up. This meaning may be allied to Ger. *Kette*, a chain.

Decidedly, there is more in the roots *Cat* and *Ket* than meets the eye.

Dal: a prefix frequently met with in Scottish topography. It may be, in some instances (as I have suggested; see Irish prefixes) the Teutonic word for a share or portion, which has played so important a part in the ethnological arguments I have used, being incorporated in the name of the Gael, in the Gaelic language, and in Scots dialect. It is not easily distinguished from *dal*, a dale, or valley (O. Ic. *dalr*), for, unlike the Scandinavians, the Gael used the latter word as a prefix instead of a suffix.

In a recently published book on Middle English place-names, it is stated (Lindkvist I., p. 30) that in M. E. records previous to the fourteenth century the *deill* suffix in these place-names means "share." Subsequently it meant "dale" or "valley."

Drum: also noticed in the Irish names. Frequently applied to ridges in Scottish topography.

Dun: one of the most common of all Scottish prefixes. Fully discussed in the Irish section.

Fin is apparently O. Ic. *Vin*, a meadow or pasture, or O. Ic. *Fen*, a bog. Probably the words are relatives (*cf.*

O. Fris. F*enne*, pasture-land; see Irish prefixes). Finhaven has one early form (the earliest recorded) "Fothynevyn," which suggests a development of "Fin" from "Fothyn." But this appears to be an isolated example, which is not confirmed by any later form of that or any other name in the group. It is impossible therefore to attach much weight to it. Fo*th* may be an equation with *Fin*, by being derived from O. Ic. Fó*da*, to feed.

For: a prefix that is always called "Pictish." The use of the latter word is like the eponymic method of settling etymologies: an explanation that leaves everything unexplained.

For is a development of the early forms *Fodre*, Fo*thar*, *Fethir*, and F*etter*. What do these words mean?

We have the same root, I think, in O. French Fo*rre*, translated by Roquefort as *paille, fourrage*, as well as in Fo*rriere*, translated as *patûrage des bestiaux*. The oldest form of the Scottish place-name, viz., *Fother*, is derived in all likelihood from O. Ic. *Fódr*, fodder (*fóda*, to feed).

Thus *For* may be translated as food for cattle, or pasturage. The Gae. *fothar* (Irish), or *foithre* (Scottish), meaning forest or woods, is sometimes claimed as the source of this prefix,[9] but this assumption leads to insurmountable difficulties in explaining some of the names in the category.

In early charters, names like Fortre de Inverurie, and Fortray, *vic.* Aberdeen, are to be found. Here we have the prefixial *For* with the Cym. suffix *tre*, meaning a village or homestead. *Tre* sometimes interchanges with *tryf*, or *tref*, showing the Cym. forms un-

[9] *Fothar* is said to be a dialectic equivalent of *Fid.* The latter root may be from O. Ic. *Vidhr*, forest or wood, or Cym. *Gwydd*, trees.

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Cym. *Pen*, a head, or chief, or end; or to Cym. *Cyn*, denoting priority; or to Teut. *Kin*, a tribe?

Even in Wales there seems to be an interchange between *Pen* and *Cyn*. The Welsh word *Cynaber* means head of a stream, and in Scotland it is reproduced as Kinaber. The Welsh *Pentir* means headland, and is reproduced in Scotland as Kintyre, old forms Ciunntire, and Cindtyre.

It would seem that some at least of the *Kins* in Scottish topography (invariably connected with Cym. *Pen*) may be Cym. *Cyn* with the same sound. As already observed, it is sometimes difficult to disentangle the *Pens* and *Cyns*.

Pen is a common prefix in Welsh town-names, and whatever its original meaning, it now denotes, like the Scottish *Kin*, simply a settlement or village. It is conceivable that, while in most of the examples, *Kin* undoubtedly meant, primitively, the head or point, or end, of whatever is described by the qualifying root, in others the primary sense may have been priority in time or importance. Thus, the earliest settlement in a district would also be the head village, and its position would thus justify the prefixial *Kin* (Cym. *Cyn*). How difficult it is to disentangle this idea from a topographical fact, is shown by the name Kinkell, which is found in several districts in Scotland. Skene and others interpret the name as "head-church," Kinkell church on the Don having several churches subordinate to it. But it is not improbable that there may be a double confusion here, alike in the prefix and the suffix. In one instance, the name is spelt Kingkell, and in others Kynkelle and Kynkellee. The name might be plausibly interpreted as "King's Forest," for in some place-names there has clearly been confusion between the Celtic *Kin* and the Teutonic *King* (if indeed their

origin is not radically the same). For example, Kingscavil, which means the King's lot (*cf.* Scots "kaveling and deling," casting lots and dividing), a decidedly Teutonic name, is sometimes written Kincavil; and conversely, a parish in Banffshire, the original name of which must have been Kinedre, from the stream flowing through it (A. S. *Edre*, a water-course), has now the name of "King Edward."

One of the most notable of the "Kins" is Kincardine, of which there are several in Scotland. The usual prefix of this name is "Kin" or "Kyn," but there is at least one "Kynge." Have we here, therefore, a "head" (or "end"), or a "king"? And is *Carden* Cym. *Cardden*, a brake, thicket, or wild place, or Cym. *Cerrdin*, mountain ash; or is it a word of Teutonic origin, similar in meaning to the Eng. word "garden"? Each of these etymologies might be plausibly argued as tenable (though the first is the most likely); but Kincardine O'Neil was certainly not the property of an Irish O'Neil, as is sometimes supposed. It simply means Kincardine on the Neil (a stream in the parish), and in Neil we find the river-root *El*.

There may be something to be said for *Kin*, a tribe, signifying, as a topographical prefix, tribal lands; and Skene cites a passage which almost seems to support that view.[10] But we are on much safer ground in connecting the prefix with the Cym. *Pen* and *Cyn* in the senses I have suggested.

Kir (less frequently *Car*): a form of Cym. *Caer*, a fort, later a city. Here, again, care must be exercised to distinguish this meaning from that of O. Ic. *Kjárr*, brushwood; *Kaer*, a marsh (Swed. *Karr*, a fen or marsh). But Carse comes from Cym. *Cors*, a bog or

[10] *Celtic Scotland*, iii., p. 254.

fen, a related meaning (see Irish names). Occasionally, too, *Kir* appears as *Kirk*.

Kirk: a significantly Scandinavian prefix, mainly found in Galloway. It is noteworthy that in England it is confined to the sphere of Danish influence. It is derived from O. Ic. *Kirkja*, a church.

Knock:[11] applied as in Ireland, to a large number of the smaller hills. Cym. *Cnwc*, a lump, is the relative of Gae. *Cnoc*, a hill.

Lang and *Long*: corruptions of Cym. *Llan*, in its original sense of an open, flat place (land).

Lath and *Leth*: probably Gae. forms of Cym. *Lledd*, a plain. Cym. *Llêd*, half, takes the Gae. form of *Leth*. The *Laths* and *Léths* may conceivably have been half-penny lands; but the connexion is improbable.

Logie and *Logan* denote a hollow surrounded by rising ground. It is derived from O. Ic. *Laegd*, a hollow or low place, *Liggja*, to lie (*Lectus*). Logie is a fairly common prefix in the heart of Pictland.

Gae. *Lag*, a hollow between two knolls, expresses the idea, but what is the source of *Lag?* It has no Cymric affinity, and must, I think, be referred to the word I have suggested.

Mark and *Mork*: O. Ic. *Mörk* (gen. and pl. *Merkr*), forest. Found in Banffshire, Dunfries-shire, Fifeshire, Inver-

[11] One of the most interesting of the Knocks is Knockfarrel in Ross-shire, on which are the remains of an excellent example of a vitrified fort. Meeting an old shepherd on the summit, I asked him what "Farrel" meant. "Och," he said, "isn't it just called after Farrel, one of Fionn's men?" The hill is sometimes called Knock Farrel na-Fion, the tradition being that this was a fort of the redoubtable champion. Similarly, the name of Fionn figures in connection with hills elsewhere in Scotland. It is conceivable that in all these instances the legend may have arisen from the fact that the hills so called were for pasture (O. Ic. *Vin*, O. Fris. *fenn*). "Fionn's Seats" may be really *Vin sætr*, mountain-pastures.

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by the Teith" (see Irish "Money"). Alternatively, Gae. *mòine* may be derived from Cym. *mawn*, peat; and Monteith may thus mean simply, "Teith Bog."

Mill and *Miln*: mark the places where the corn grown in the district was brought to the ground. (Cym. *Melin*, a mill or grinder.)

Muck: as a prefix must, I think, be assigned to O.Ic. *Mjúkr*, fertile. Thus, names like Muckairn (Mocairn) and Muckhart (Mukard), would mean "the fertile dwellings," and Mugstat in Skye "the fertile place." They can hardly be derived from Cym. *Môch*, swine, or its Gaelic equivalent.

Mull: in the sense of a cape (*cf.* Mull of Kintyre, Mull of Galloway, etc.), is derived from O. Ic. *Muli*, a beak. The "Mules" in Orkney and Shetland are insulated headlands projecting into the sea.

Pan and *Pen*: the Welsh *Pen*. A name like Penicuik in Midlothian, early form Pen-y-coke, is aggressively Cym. in its form. It means the Red Hill (Cym. *coch*, red) probably from the sandstone of the Pentlands.

The "Pens" are of wide distribution in Scotland, being found even in so Gaelic a district as Argyll.

Pet, *Pett*, and *Pit*: the most distinctive prefix in Pictland. Not found in Wales, though of Cymric origin. Its original meaning is shown by the *Book of Deer* to have been "a portion of land," or a homestead; and like so many other prefixes, it acquired a secondary meaning as a dwelling-place, or village. Its source is traceable to a Cym. root, which appears in Welsh as *peth*, a part, and more distinctly in Corn. as *peth* or *peyth*, a share or portion. In O. Ic. *petti* means a piece of field, but this is believed to be an imported word of a comparatively late date. Probably "smallness" underlies the idea

of the share, because one of the meanings of *peth* is "a little."[13]

Rait, Raith, Rath, Reay, Roth, and *Ruth:* all these prefixes may be assigned to the word *Rath*, which I have already analysed. In Scotland its original meaning, as a rule, may probably have been a plain, or a place cleared, or "ridded," of trees. The source is O. Ic. *Rjòdr*, a cleared space, found as an element in Scandinavian place-names (Eng. *Royd*). I have already suggested that Cym. *Rhath*, a cleared spot, must be a loan word; but it is certainly connected with *Rhathu*, to rub off or strip.

Rath sometimes takes in Scotland, as in Ireland, the forms of *Ra* (*e.g.*, Reay in Sutherland), and *Raw* or *Row*, *e.g.*, Rotten Row in Glasgow and Carnoustie. The meaning of all the "Rotten Rows" may be "the red-coloured plain," "Rotten" being probably a corruption of Cym. *Rhuddain*, reddish.

One of the Scottish Calders is called the "Rotten Calder," a name that suggests a putrid stream, instead of a pure flow like the fact. In this instance, the shallow bed is porphyritic, and the reddish hue makes *Rhuddain* (but not "rotten"!) an appropriate description.

The Scan. form, *Rjòdr*, seems to be retained in such names as Rutherglen, Ruthrieston; and possibly Rutherford, though for the last-named, *Rother* (A. S. *Hrythe*r), an ox (Oxford), is to be preferred. In Scan. names, *Rjòdr* often becomes *Rud* (*Ruth*).

Ross: a moor, or wood, or promontory. Analysed in the Irish section (which see).

[13] What appears to be the same root is found in England in such names as Pett, Pettaugh, and Petworth (*Domesday*, Petiorde), all in Sussex; and in Ireland there is at least one example—Pettigoe, near Lower Lough Erne.

Shaw: an A.S. word: *Shaw*, a wood.

Strath: (See Irish names, where the difference between "Strath" and "Glen" is shown). It is noticeable in Scottish topography that the *dales* are chiefly south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde; the *straths* are mainly distributed in the east and the centre; and the *glens* in the west.

Tilli, Tuly, Tully, and *Tulloch:* a prefix applied in Scotland to hills (see Irish names).

Tor: Cym. *Twr*, a tower or a heap. These meanings seem to cover the topographical varieties of the prefix in Scotland.

Tra, Tre, and *Tref* (Cym. for homestead, or hamlet), are to be found occasionally in Scotland, sometimes in a disguised form. Traquair is the homestead on the Quair Water (one form is *Trefquer*). A decidedly Cym. form is shown in Tranent, the suffix of which is Cym. *nant*, a brook.

Note on terminations.—It should be observed that the suffix *yn* is frequent in the older forms of Scottish place-names, sometimes as an intervening syllable (like the Cornish definite article *an*). This is a characteristic ending in Welsh words, sometimes denoting a diminutive. But *yn* is a termination in Scandinavian place-names; following a consonant, it stands for *Vin*, pasture. Also, most Scandinavian place-names have the definite article appended, which accounts for their frequent endings in *an* or *in*, etc.

In considering Scottish place-names, therefore, ending in *yn* and *en* (which in later forms, usually become *y* or *ie*), e.g., Pet-yn, now Petty, Rosmark-yn, now Rosemarkie, we have to decide whether we are dealing with a Cymric or a Scandinavian affix; and we may further have to disentangle it from a similar syllable belonging to the Gaelic category, *i.e.*, the definite article, a diminutive, or a plural number.

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Assynt: takes its name from the remarkable ridge of rock near Loch Assynt. It is derived from O. Ic. *áss*, a rocky ridge. In old maps it is usually spelt Assen, though the earliest forms are Asseynkt and Assend. The second syllable of the name is probably a corruption of O. Ic. *endi*, an end or border.

Athole: the eponymic method is usually applied to this name. E.f. of the word are Athfoithle, Adtheodle, and Athotla. It is evidently a compound of *Ath* and *fodla*, or *fothell*. *Fothell* is found in other Scottish place-names. The name Athole is usually translated as the ford (*Ath*) of Fodla, one of the legendary seven sons of Cruithne, the sons whom Skene, with indifferent success, endeavoured to identify with the seven provinces of Scotland (described by Gerald the Cambrian), and whom, by an amazing effort of perverted ingenuity, he tried, but wholly failed, to identify with Ptolemy's tribal names.

Fodla is one of the old names for Ireland, which was the country of high places (*Banba*), green pastures (*Erin*), and woods (*Fodla*). These three names for Ireland (*Banba*, *Erin* or *Eire*, and *Fodla* or *Fodhla*) are legendised as daughters of Fiacha of the Danann race.

It is probable that *fothell* is a Gae. form of Cym. *gwyddle*, a woody place (*gwyddeli*, brakes), *Ath*, a Cymric prefix, denoting a characteristic. Athole (Lat. *Atholia*) thus means a wooded country, or a place covered with brushwood.

Badenoch (e.f. Badenach, Badenaghe, Badenau, Badgenoch, and Badzenoch). One of the forms of the name, *Baunagd* (if not a contraction of "Badgen"), seems to contain the Goth. *Baun*, a dwelling, which has the same meaning as the Scots *Bade* and *Baid* (O. Ic. *Bygd*).

The second syllable (*gen*), still retained in the local pronunciation, may be derived from Cym. *genu*, to be brought forth, and the last syllable is the familiar Cym. *ach*, a fluid or water. The idea seems to be "a dwelling on a site originally covered by water."

The explanation of this etymology is that the greater part of Badenoch's fertile plain was at one time a lake, having been flooded by the Spey.

Balfour: the suffix *four*, joined to the very common *bál*, is a peculiar one. Gae. *fuar*, cold, will not do. It seems to be a Gae. form of Cym. *pawr*, meaning pasture or grazing. The personal name, Balfour, is, of course, derived from the place-name, but the accent is, as a rule, wrongly placed upon the prefix instead of the suffix, except by the Scottish peasantry, who know better.

Banchory-Devenick, and *Banchory-Ternan:* here we have the Welsh and Irish Bangor reproduced on Scottish soil. The name "Bangor" has proved a puzzle, and many suggestions have been made as to its original meaning. I think it likely that George Borrow's suggestion (I should amend the word to "pronouncement," for Borrow was never troubled with doubts), that it is derived from "Druidical" remains may be correct. The same idea had occurred to me when studying the topography of the Scottish Bangors. "Devenick" relates to the Dee, and "Ternan" is probably derived from O. Ic. *Tjörn*, pool or tarn. There is no real ground for believing them to be saints' names. *Bancor* (Cym.) means literally high circle, an extended meaning being a circle on high ground. That describes exactly the so-called Druidical remains at Banchory; and the principal Bangor in Wales has similar relics of antiquity. It is quite in accordance with other pre-

cedents, and with the popular beliefs about the Druids as instructors and philosophers, that Christian colleges and monasteries should be founded near the sites of stone circles, the latter being frequently on eminences, thus explaining the association of height with these circles. In this way the secondary and modern meaning of Bangor, vizt., college, may have originated.

Banff: e.f. Banb, Banef, and Bamphe = *Ban-va* or *Ban-fa*, high place, which appropriately describes the sea-town. *Banva* is a word compounded of Cym. *Ban*, high, and *ma*, place, the latter in combination becoming *va* or *fa*, of which *ef* is a metathetic form (see "Moray"). Banavie (e.f. Banvy) is evidently the same word as Banff.

The name is usually referred to *Banba* (see Athole), or is associated with totemism: (*Banb*, a sucking pig).

Bannockburn (e.f. Banoc and Banox). The suffix "burn" is a redundancy. The word means apparently the high river (Cym. *Ban-ach*), being derived from the declivity of the banks of the Bannock in one of its sections.

Beauly: the same name as the Hants Beaulieu, and it has the same meaning. Monasteries at both were founded in beautiful places, as was the monastic custom. The old name of the Beauly was the Farrar or Varar (Ptolemy).

B*eath*, *Beith*, and D*albeattie:* are derived from O. Ic. *Beit*, pasture.

B*erwick-on-Tweed* and *North Berwick:* A. S. *Berewic*, lit. barley (*bere*), village (*wic*), a demesne farm. There are Berwicks in England.

B*lantyre:* Cym. *Blaendir*, hill-country. Blantyre Priory was situated on the top of a rock rising from the Clyde.

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Cambus: Cam. (Cym. and Gae.) means crooked; and *Cambus,* a derivation from *Cam,* means a place at a river-bend, with the extended meaning of a creek, or a bending harbour. *Cambus* is in Scotland associated in a peculiar way with personal names (*e.g.*, Cambuskenneth, Cambusnethan, Cambuswallace, etc.), and the inference is that these names represent the ownership of the land at the bend. Probably land so situated was of special value.

Adamnan has the form *Cambas* for *Cambus.* This suggests that the original meaning of *Cambas* may have been "ford at the bend" (*cam,* bend, and *bas,* ford).

Cargill (e.f. Kergill): probably a Scandinavian name, *Kaergil,* marsh-ravine; or, in view of the fact that there are Roman remains in the parish, the prefix may be Cym. *Caer,* fort, thus making the name a hybrid.

Carmichael (e.f. Karemigel): see Cargill for the prefix. *Migel* is not "Michael," a personal name, as it is usually translated, but O. Ic. *mikill,* large, of which the modern form is, I think, a corruption.

Carrick (e.f. Carrawg and Karic): the rocky character of the district connects the name with Cym. *Careg,* a stone, and especially with Cornish *Carrick,* rock. The Irish "Carricks" are also rocky places.

Carriden: the *Kair Eden* of Gildas, meaning the "slope-fort" (see "Edinburgh"). Bo'ness or Borrowstounness in the adjoining parish contains the Scots duplication of "burgh," namely "burrows-toun" (see prefix *Dun*).

Clackmannan and *Slamannan* (e.f. Clacmanant and Clacmana; Slethmanin): the prefix *Clack* is a Saxon pronunciation of Gae. *Clach,* a large stone, itself a derivation from Cym. *Clog,* with the same meaning. The prefix *Sla* is a contraction of *Sleth,* meaning "Sleuth"

or "Slough" (*c.f.* "Sleuth-hound"). The affix in both names is Cym. *mawnen*, peat-land.

The large stone from which Clackmannan takes its name stands in the centre of the village; it is of uncertain origin. Not improbably, Clackmannan is Wyntoun's "Stanemore."

Crail (e.f. Caraile): "Cliff-fort," from Cym. *Caer*, a fort, but the Gae. form of the affix *aile*, a cliff (Cym. *allt*) is distinct. There are traces of an old castle on the top of the cliff.

Cramond (e.f. Caramonth): a metathetic form of the original name. It means the Almond (River) fort.

Criech (e.f. Creech and Crech): referable to Cym. *Crêch*, rugged.

Crieff: this name has caused a good deal of fumbling among trees (Gae. *craobh*), and other natural objects for an etymological root.

It is an adjectival form meaning "strong"; and in Scotland appears to have been used sometimes as a substantive to denote what was frequently called a "strength," or fortified place (*c.f.* Pittencrieff). It is derived from Welsh *Cryf* (Corn. *Crêf* and *Creif*) meaning "strong": one of the old forms of Crieff is "Crefe." Crieff was near the centre of Pictish authority at one period, and the district must have been strongly fortified. Fortrenn, the name applied by the Irish Annalists to this district, is believed by Sir John Rhys to be allied to Ger. *verder*, an embankment (Sans. *varta*, a dyke). He points out that Fortrenn is always used in the genitive,[3] and should give a nominative

[3] Instances can be cited where the form "Fortrenn" is not in the genitive. The Irish Annals mention a Foirtrinn in Leinster under the date A.D. 763. Possibly the ultimate source of the name is Cym. *gwyr*, green, and *trân*, a district. (See the prefix *For*; *cf.* also, Cym. *gweirdir*, hay-land, and *gwerydre*, cultivated land.)

Fortriu, later Foirtre. That seems to be the name (Fortra and Fortre) which I have noticed under the prefix *For* as occurring in charters. It can perhaps bear the interpretation of "pasture-homestead," and Fortrenn may be a plural form.[4] *Fortroende* means in Swed. "confidence," and in O. Irish *Fortren* means powerful; but the connexion of either with the Fortrenn of the Picts is more than doubtful.

Dumcrieff (Duncrieff), at Moffat, means the strong fort, and Moncrieff in Perthshire means the strong or fortified hill (the *Monaigh Craebi* of Tighernach), where a battle was fought in 728 A.D. The form *Crew*, as in Ireland, is found in such names as Bunchrew and Crewe (*cf.* Crewe in England). Criffel (a hybrid). a mountain in Kirkcudbright, and Crieve Hill in Dumfries-shire, belong to the same category. There was a Creif in Forfar, and a Creifechteris in Strathearn, the latter name showing "Crieff" in combination. (See *Reg. Mag. Sig*). Pittencrieff (see Dunfermline) is so called from Malcolm Canmore's stronghold.

Cromarty: an instructive name. E.f. are Crumbathyn, Crumbauchtyn (the *yn* is an affix), Crumbawchty, and (nearly simultaneously with the last form) Cromardy, the last representing the modern form approximately.

The prefix of the early forms of the name is *Crumb*, which is exactly the O. Sax. word for crooked or curved. The Cym. form *Crwm*, and the Gae. form *Crom*, are both probably loanwords, for the peculiarly Celtic *Cam* represents the same idea.

The second part of the word is *ath* or *aucht*, both variants of *ach*, the Cym. root for water, so frequently

[4] That *tre* in these names is the Welsh *tre* or *tref*, a homestead, is suggested by a similar name in Scottish topography, *Fintre* (Fintry), which has an alternative form of *Fyntryf*.

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logy. Irish Gae. *deor*, and Scots Gae. *deur*, a tear, have been confused apparently with *dwr*, water. (Possibly *dwr* is the real source, as well as the source of the various Teut. variants of "tear").

Dingwall: the meeting (Parliament) ground. O.Ic. *Ting* or *Thing*, and *völlr*, ground, or level field. Dingwall in Ross-shire is called by Gaelic-speakers, Inverpefferon, the River Peffer running into the Cromarty Firth at Dingwall. Here are two words, one characteristically Scandinavian (Dingwall), and the other just as characteristically Cymric (*pefyr*, radiant), near the capital of the Highlands; a significant circumstance.

The existence of a *Ting* pre-supposes the presence of an important Scandinavian settlement in the district, an element intruding upon the Cymric inhabitants who gave its name to the Peffer. There is no record, and no tradition, so far as I know, of the Scandinavians having penetrated, as permanent settlers, so far south during the historical period, though I do not forget that Thorstein the Red, and Sigurd had possession of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray (including Inverness), and "more than half Scotland" (*Landnama Book* II., 14). I suggest the possibility of Dingwall being a relic of a Scandinavian colony during the Pictish period. But whatever the period, the name points untakably to the presence in the district of such a colony, some time before the Scottish monarchy exercised effective authority over the North.

There are several names in England of a similar import. Tingwall in Shetland, Tinwald in Dumfries-shire and in the Isle of Man tell the same tale.

Dollar (e.f. Do*ler*): O. Ic. *Dalr*, dale.

Do*rnoch* in Sutherland (e.f. Durnach and Durnah) and Dornock in Dumfries-shire have obviously the same

name: from Cym. *Durn*, a knob, applied to hillocks or knolls; cognate with Cym. *Cnap* (see Knapdale). The hillocks in this instance are sand-heaps. Dornoch thus means a place with hillocks or knolls. (*Cf.* Durn, a hill in Fordyce, and Dundurn, L. Earn).

The horse-shoe in the arms of Dornoch may have brought good luck to the town by the golden guineas of golfing guests; but the story upon which it is founded, describing the feat of the local Thane, who, with the leg of a horse (D*orn-eich*) rivalled Samson's exploits with the jawbone of an ass, is another of the numerous etymological fables.

Drumalban: "The Dorsal Ridge of Britain"; also called Brunalban, which, of old, divided the Scots from the Picts. *Brun* is thus equated with the Celtic D*rum*, a ridge. It seems to be derived from O. Ic. *Brún*, the projecting edge of a hill, for that is a nearer equivalent of *Drum* than Cym. *Bryn*, hill.

D*ull:* believed to be only conspicuous example in Scotland of Cym. *dôl*, dale. But there are other examples, *e.g.*, Dallas, formerly Dollas; Dalkeith, formerly Dolchet, which show the same form. In England, the Scand. *dalr* sometimes shows a similar interchange of form. It is .doubtful, therefore, whether the place-name "Dull" (e.f. Dul) has any primary connexion with Cym. *dôl*. The primary meaning of Cym. *dôl* is a loop or ring. The meaning of "dale" is secondary. and probably imported.

Dumbarton (e.f. Dunbretane): the Britons' *dun* or fort. An older name was Alcluith, *i.e.*, the Clyde Rock (Gae. *ál*, a rock, Cym. *allt*, a cliff). Bede calls Alcluith "the strong city of the Britons."

The A. S. word for rock is *clúd*, one of the early forms of "Clyde." But there is no real ground for

supposing that the river took its name from the rock: that would be contrary to rule.

D*umfries* (e.f. Dounfres and Drumfreiss, another example of *Dum* and *Drum* for *Dun*): Skene's view, which is probably correct, was that the suffix indicates a Frisian occupation of the fort. ("Freskin," the name of the founder of the old Earldom of Sutherland, means "of Frisian descent.").

Dunbar (e.f. Dynbaer and Dunbarre): *Dun* and *barre* appear to be duplications, like Dunbarrow and Dunborerraig (*dun* and *burgh*; see the prefix *Dun*); *cf.* "Barra."

Dunblane: Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii., 402) cites evidence for a foundation here by St. Blane. If that evidence is conclusive, *Dun* must have here the force of "town." St. Blane's "fort" is unthinkable. E.f. of the name are Dumblin and Dubblain. In topography, Cym. *blaen*, top, is sometimes applied to hilly land.

Dundee: a name that has occasioned much controversy. E.f. are Donde, Dunde, and Dundo. On the assumption that "De" is a Gae. form of "Tay" (Gae. "D" = Cym. "T"; and "Tay" appears as "Tey" and "Toe"), which is quite warrantable, the meaning of the name is plain, viz., the Tay fort. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain. "Hill of God" is, and has been from the days of George Buchanan onwards, a familiar but absurd derivation. The people of the Tay are on record as *Lucht Toi* (*Celt. Scot.*, iii., 211).

Dunfermline (e.f. Dumfermelyn and Dunfermelyn, Dumferlin, Dunfermelitane, Dunfermlin, Donffermelyn; a curious assortment): the prefix *Dun* represents "Malcolm's Tower," *i.e.*, the stronghold erected in Pittencrieff by Malcolm Canmore in the eleventh century.

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the same meaning, *Dun* being in one case a prefix, and in the other an affix. For *fother*, see the prefix *For*.

It may be suggested, however, that, as in the case of Fortingall (which see), the form *fother* may here be really a corruption of *forter* (Cym. *gwerthyr*, a fortification), though the latter form is missing.

Dunoon: an e.f. is Dunhoven. The ancient *dun* was on a rocky knoll, projecting into the Firth of Clyde. *Oon* = O. Ic. *höfn*, harbour.

But Denoon (also a personal name) in Glammis means Dean-avon, from the River Dean (*cf.* *owen*, so frequently found in Irish place-names as a form of *awon*, a river).

Dunvegan: in Skye, where stands MacLeod's historical castle, the oldest inhabited house in Great Britain. E.f. are Dunbegane and Dunveggane. "Begane" and "Veggane" mean "the settlement" (*cf.* O. Ic. *Byggja*, to settle in a place as a colonist).

Dupplin: the same name as Dublin. Both names suggest Cym. *Dulyn*, black water (the Earn and the Liffey respectively; Cym. *Du* has become Gae. *Dub* (variant *Dup*). Perhaps a preferable derivation for the suffix of Dupplin and Dublin is from O. Welsh *linn*, a marsh. The names would thus mean "black marsh." An e.f. of Dupplin is Duplyn.

Durness: e.f. Dyrnes. Possibly a tautological name in two languages: Cym. *Duryn*, a snout, and O. Ic. *nes*, a headland (see Kinghorn).

Dyke: a root that enters into several names on the east coast. From O. Ic. D*iki*, dike or ditch. The "Dykes" are situated just where we should expect to find them.

Edinburgh or D*unedin*: *Dun* is the Celtic prefix, originally Cym. *Din* (*cf.* Taliessin's *Dineiddyn*), subsequently modified to *Dun* by the Gael. Eden (as in the Irish names) means a hill-slope (obsolete Welsh *Eiddyn*).[5] The Castle hill slopes gradually down to Holyrood. The Welsh bards called the hill *Mynyd* (or Mount), *Agned* (? Cym. *Agen*, a cleft or fissure).

In the seventh century, Edinburgh was in the hands of King Edwin of Northumbria, and this fact has influenced the form of the name, and has led to the belief that "Edwinsburgh" originally meant Edwin's town, instead of "the fort on the slope" (*burgh* = *dun*).

Edinburgh was one of the "Maiden Castles," of which there are a number both in England and Scotland, the best known being perhaps the great fort near Dorchester. Isolated rocks in the sea are also called, in some instances, "maidens." Edinburgh actually appears in charters as *Castellum puellarum*, and *Oppidum puellarum*. From this arose the legend of the Pictish maidens of high birth who were shut up in the castle. Strangely enough, it is said that it was the custom in ancient Scandinavia to shut up in fortresses women of noble birth for security when their fathers and husbands were away reiving.[6]

Edington: this is the same name as Haddington (e.f. of Edington is Haedentun, and of Haddington, Hadynton and Hadintun). These names belong to an extensive group in England, all having the same meaning, viz., townships on heaths (O. Ic. *heid*), not

[5] The English words "hade" and "hading" (the etymology of which is obscure), meaning, in mining, the dip or slope of a vein, have their source, not improbably, in this word *eiddyn*, a slope.

[6] Crichton and Wheaton, pp. 195-6.

necessarily sites on which the heath-plant grew, but wild, open spaces suitable for pasturage.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has the forms *Hat*, *Had*, *Heding*, and *Eding* for heath, and we find all these forms in Eng. place-names. The form corresponding with the word "heather" (Scots "hadder") also appears in Eng. place-names as Hatter and Hadder. In Scotland the place-names Hatton, Edington, and Haddington belong to the first group, and the second group is represented by such names as Edderton (in Scottish names Edder is invariably associated with Gae. *eadar* "between," with surprising results).

But these groups present a further remarkable feature in the resemblance between the words they comprise, and those in what may be called the *Cat* group. Thus, Hatton is paralleled by Catton; and names containing Hatter by those containing Catter. That the letters "H" and "C" are here equations cannot well be doubted. It is proved by the fact, for instance, that Keadby in Lincolnshire appears in early forms as Heidebi, Haytheby, and Keteby. The initial letter "C" or "K" for "H" is probably a legacy from the primitive Aryan root.

Such place-names in Scotland as Catter, Catrine, Loch Katrine (correct pronun. "Kettrin"), and Caterline belong apparently to the "heath" category.

Elgin (spelt Helgyn on an old seal of the burgh): if a compound, the name is probably derived from Cym. *Hêl*, a holme or dale, and *gwyn*, what is fair—an appropriate name. It may be observed that the Scots *Haugh* (which has the same force as Cym. *Hêl*) sometimes takes the form of *Halche* (*cf.* Glenelg, e.f. Glenhalk). This form, with the *yn* affix, may conceivably be the source of "Elgin." The situation of the town supports either of the etymologies.

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F*ife* (e.f. Fib (Gae.), Fifi (O. Ic.), Fif and Fyf): in O. Ic. *Fifi* means cotton-grass, which plant may have been a characteristic feature of the marsh called the Moor of Fife. But this derivation is unlikely. The usual derivation is eponymic: Fib, one of the seven sons of Cruithne, by whom some etymologists have been obsessed. A more rational derivation is from Cym. *Gwyf*, what extends; *Gwyfo*, to run out, which is descriptive of the contour of the county; *Fyf* or *Fib* is the Gae. equivalent of *Gwyf*. Fife was also called Ross (of which name Kinross and Culross are relics), and it included the modern Fifeshire, Kinross-shire, Clackmannanshire, and part of Perthshire. It is probable that "Ross" should here be read with the meaning of "peninsula," which practically agrees with the meaning that I have suggested for "Fife."

Fo*rfar* (e.f. Forfaire): this name evidently means verdant or pasture-hill: *For*, the prefix already discussed, and Cym. *ffair*, an eminence. The nucleus of the town must have been close to the old castle, which stood on an eminence. The Hill of Fare (perhaps a tautological name) on the borders of Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire, is famed for its sheep-pasture.[8]

F*organ* and *Longforgan* (e.f. Forgrund): shows an O. Ic. affix *grund*, grassy plain, or green field. *Long* probably = O. Ic. *Lönd*, land (see "Lumgair").

Fo*rres* (e.f. Forais, Forthirres, Forderris): perhaps *For* (see prefixes) and Cym. *tir*, land; or possibly the Gae. form of *Gwerydre*, cultivated land, or an inhabited region. There is here an instance of the Eng. "s" to form a plural. Another alternative derivation is from Cym. *Gweirdir*, hay-land (see "Fortingall").

[8] The Hill of Fare may derive its name from the same source as the Faroe (Sheep) Isles (*cf.* Fara in Orkney and the Outer Hebrides and Pharay in Orkney): O. Ic. *Fjár*, gen. of *Fé*, cattle, especially sheep.

Fortingall (Perthshire) (e.f. Forterkil, Fortyrgill, and Fothergill): in Fortyr we find probably Cym. *Gwerthyr*, a fortification, with *kil*, a burying-ground (but see "Forres"). Fortingall was a Roman camp and station, and there are numerous traces of fortifications. There is a celebrated churchyard in Kirkton (made famous by its ancient yew-tree) which may explain the suffix; but conceivably it may relate to a tradition about the Roman remains. O. Ic. *gil*, a ravine, does not fit topographically. (Yew-trees were ordered by Act of Parliament to be planted in burying-grounds, in order to provide material for the bows that were so formidable in the hands of Scottish archers before the English learned the art of effective archery).

Fortrose: this town is a combination of the old towns of Chanonry and Rosemarkie, the latter being an ancient and celebrated foundation. The old form of Fortrose is Fortross, and *ross* in this instance means a promontory. *Fort* is probably to be equated with Cym. *Gwyrdd*, a green (perhaps the Cathedral Green).

Gairloch and *Gareloch:* usually derived from Gae. *geàrr*, short, a very doubtful etymology. See "Lumgair," an e.f. of which shows that *gair* is Ic. *kaer*, a marsh.

Galashiels: a Scand. origin is shown by *shiels* (O. Ic. *skáli*, a hut, a shed for temporary use). "The shielings on the River Gala."

Galloway: there is a variety of e.f., comprising Galweya, Galeweia, Galwodia, Gallovidia, Gallweithia, and the Welsh form Galwydel.

The last form supplies the key to the name, which, in my opinion, is derived from Cym. *Gallt-gwyddle* (i.e., *Gallt*, an ascent, and *gwyddle*, a woody place), signifying a hilly and wooded country, which exactly describes old Galloway. The prefix *Gallt* appears in

Cornish as G*alé*, a high place. The Welsh form *Gallt* is preserved in the place-name Galtway (anciently Galtweid) in Galloway. Galloway and Galltweid are variants of the same word. *Gwyddle* appears in the Teutonic roots *vid* and *wod* (wood), shown in some of the forms (as above) of Galloway.

Dr. Skene's etymology, *Gall Gaidheal*, "the foreign Gael," is an astonishing name to apply to a province, especially when it is not supported by any form, early or late, of the name. Yet, as in other instances of the same kind, he wrote history on this false etymology. He seems to have confused the Cym. *Gwyddle*, a woody place, with *Gwyddel*, the Welsh corruption of the word "Gael."

Garioch: an old name, of which an e.f. is Garvyach. It seems to mean "rough pasture": Cym. G*arw*, rough, and *ach* (*achadh*), which has been discussed as a prefix.

Geanies: a curious name. E.f. Genes. It means "the cleft headland," from O. Ic. *Gjá*, a cleft, and *nes*, a headland. At Geanies there is a rocky precipice pierced with caves.

Glasgow (e.f. Glasgu, Glasgow, Glaschu): the totemistic (*cu*, hound) theory has been at work over this name, with extraordinary results. Cym. *Cu*, dear, has also been tried with no better success. Neither *Glaschu*, "greyhound," nor *Glascu*, "dear green," will do at all.

The name, I suggest, means River-town, or River-district. It is composed of *Glas*, the river-name already analysed, and *gau* or *govia*, a district (*pagus*), a Teut. word (also already noticed), which appears in O. Fris. as *go*, signifying a town (*cf*. Westergo and Estergo), and in various place-names of Teut. origin as *gau* (*cf*. Aargau, Rheingau, etc.).

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Go*wrie* (e.f. Gowrin and Gouerin): perhaps Cym. *Gower*, croft or enclosure, with an affix; but more probably Cym. *Gwyran*, coarse rushy grass.

G*reenock:* a Cym. compound word derived from G*raen*, gravel, or coarse sand, with the "water" suffix *ach*, first Gaelicised to *oich* or *och*, and then Anglicised to o*ck*. The significance of the name is seen when it is remembered that Greenock is opposite what Clydesiders call the "Tail of the Bank." The latter is a sandbank extending from the vicinity of Dumbarton Castle to Greenock.

The prefix G*raen* occurs in other names, *e.g.*, Grenan (Bute), Grennan (Galloway), etc., and is also found in the form of G*rain*, applied to streams. In Ireland it appears in several "Greenoges" (Greenock). It will probably be found that the soil, in every case, is sandy.

This prefix is almost invariably attributed to Gae. *Grian*, the sun, and so we have "Sun-spots" in different localities.[9] But *Grian*, the sun, is itself derived from Cym. *Greian*, what gives light, thus affording a good example of the process of development that Gaelic has undergone.

The name Gruinard, or Gruinort, or Greinord (for all three forms are used) is found in Islay, Gairloch (Rossshire), and Shetland. Its incidence in Shetland at once suggests a Norse origin, which is probably to be found in O. Ic. *Grunnr*, shallow, rather than Cym. *Graen*, sand. The suffix of Gruinard, etc., seems to be a form taken by *fjörd*, firth, in composition.

Hawick: the meadow, (Haugh) village (wick), E.f. Hawic and Hawich.

[9] As a good example of this sort of etymology, I may mention a name like Culnagrein (Culnagreen), meaning the sandy or gravelly height, or rising ground. Invariably this is interpreted as "Back of the sun." (See Irish "Cool.")

Helmsdale: another Scandinavian settlement like Golspie, is signified by this name. Helm (Hialm, Helim) is still a living surname in Scotland.

Holyrood = Holy Cross ("*Ecclesia Sancte Crucis*"), so called from the Abbey.

Huntly: a name taken by the Gordons (like their own name) from their original property in Berwickshire: "Huntlea" (A. S. *huntian*). Huntly thus means "hunting-valley."

Inchaffray: a curious name with a Celtic prefix, Y*nys* or *Innis*, island, and a Latin suffix, *offerens*, altered in Gae. to *aifrinn:* the island of the Mass. Inchaffray was a celebrated foundation. There is a Scottish surname *Afren* (Galwegian origin).

Inch, in this instance, has a meaning that is frequently met with in Perthshire: a "wet" meadow, or a meadow that was at one time insulated by water. The same meaning attaches to the Scand. *ey* in some London place-names, *e.g.*, Batters-ea (Patrick's Isle), Bermonds-ey, Chels-ea, etc.

Jedburgh: the burgh on the Jed. The name is written in a variety of forms: Gedwearde (= Gedworth), Gedword, Jaddeword, from which forms we see the origin of Jeddart in the grim expression, "Jeddart justice." *Jed* = *Gâd*, rambling (Eng. "Gad" from O. Ic. *Gaddr*, a goad). Possibly, however, the name relates to the briskness of its current.

Kelso: this is an interesting name, as exemplifying the divergence from original forms that modern topography in Scotland sometimes assumes. The e.f. of Kelso are Calkou and Kelcou, and these forms explain the name as the modern name Kelso is quite unable to do.

The old form is still alive in the Chalkheugh Terrace, overlooking the town, which is situated on the Tweed. Calkou = Chalkheugh, *i.e.*, the chalk or limestone heugh or height (A. S. *Cealc*, Dan. *Kalk*, etc., limestone). This is confirmed by the old Welsh name of Kelso, "Calchvynyd" (Cym. *Calch*, lime, and *vynyd*, being Cym. *mynydd*, a mountain, in composition).

Marnoch
Dalmarnock
Inchmarnoch
Kilmarnock } E.f. Kelmernoke.
Kilmaronock } E.f. Kilmerannok.

Whether a saint named Marnoch ever lived or not—at the best he is a shadowy saint—it is doubtful whether any of these places took its name from him, though that is believed to be the origin of Kilmarnock; and Inchmarnock (Rothesay) has the remains of a chapel said to have been dedicated to him. The "Marnochs" are meadow-lands, derived from Cym. *Maranawg*, "having holmes," or flat land along the side of a river.

Kilsyth = Kelvinside. E. f. Kelvinsyth, Kelnasydhe. "Syth" or "sydhe" are from O. Ic. *sída* (pron. "seetha"), a side or coast.

Kilwinning (e.f. Kynwenyn): *Wenyn* looks like Cym. *gwaen*, a plain or meadow, with an affix. Freemasonry in Scotland originated at Kilwinning.

Kinghorn: Kin-korn, one of the e.f., irresistibly suggests tautology: Gae. *Kin*, and Cym. *corn*, a horn or butt. Kinghornness is a triplication, by the addition of O. Ic. *nes*, a headland.

Kinross (e.f. Chinross): this name is probably a relic of the old name for Fife (Ross). *Chin* is Gae. *Ceann*, head.

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of *ord* in compounds (*cf*. Petiorde in Domesday Book for Pettworth, Sussex). On the other hand, O. Ic. *fjördr*, firth, sometimes combines as *ort* (*cf*. Snizort, Skye, which appears on record as Snesfurd and Sneisport).

Knoyd (Cnud or Canute or Knud) and Sun or Sweyn (Sunart is Swynord in an early map) are probably the names of the Scandinavian settlers at Knoydart and Sunart. By analogy, Moid (e.f. Mod and Mude) should also be a settler's name. The A. S. *worth* appears to be a late rendering of O. Ic. *gardr* (garth), a dwelling (*cf*. Rogart, e.f. of which are Rothe-garthe and Roart).

Kyle: a district in Ayrshire. The name is probably taken from the Coyl, one of the streams running through the district (Cym. *Cûl*, narrow). E.f. are Cyil, Chul, and Kyl. No connexion (as has been supposed) with King Cole, "the merry old soul."

As applied in such examples as the "Kyles" of Bute, or Lochalsh, the word means a strait or channel, from the same derivation (Cym. *Cûl*, Gae. *Caol*).

Lammermuir (e.f. Lambremor): the lambing-moor (O. Ic. *Lembdr*, with lamb, and *mór*, moor. *Cf*. Lamba (Lamb Isle), Shetland, Lamb Isle (Firth of Forth), Lamb Head, and Lamb Holm (Orkney). The Lammermuirs have always been celebrated for their sheep.

Lanark: possibly Cym. *Llanerch*, a clear area. But an e.f. Llanrig suggests that Lanark may be a metathetic form of Lanrig or Long ridge, from the mountain ridge of the Clyde basin (*cf*. Lanrig or Longridge).

Larg Hill, *Largs*, *Lairg*, *Largo*, and *Largoward*: associated with all these names may be Gae. *Learg*, a green slope, but *Learg* may be the same as Scots *Lea-rig*, meaning

a grassy ridge (Lairg in Sutherland is pronounced "Layrig"). *Learg* in Irish Gae. means a boggy field. It has the meaning of a plain in Scots Gae. as well as a slope.

Lasswade, Leslie, Leswalt: show apparently A.S. *Laese*, meadow, as a descriptive prefix. Leslie (e.f. Lessly) would thus mean meadow-land.

Leith: so called from the Water of Leith. See prefixes *Lath* and *Leth*, the latter being an early form of Leith.

Lennox (e.f. Levenax, Levenach): the Leven pasture-ground. The guttural suffix *ach* has here taken the form of *ox*.[11]

Linlithgow (e.f. Linlitcu, Linlidcu, Lenlithgow, and sometimes without the prefix as Lithcowe or Lythgow): in Scots, *Lithe* means "sheltered from the blast" (A. S. *hlithe*); and that exactly describes the situation of Linlithgow. Scots *Lithe* also means a "ridge" (A. S. *hleoth*, and O. Ic. *hlid*, slope). Linlithgow is sheltered by ridges. *Cu* or *gow* is the Teut. *gau* or *govia*, sometimes meaning a district, and sometimes a town (O. Fris. *go*, a town). The prefix suggests an allusion to the situation of the town by the lake (Cym. *Llyn*, lake), but possibly *Lin* or *Len* = marsh (O. Welsh *Linn*); or it may be Cym. *Lleyn*, a low strip of land.

Lochwinnoch (e.f. Lochynoc): an old name given to the parish by the loch in the centre. The local pronunciation throws the accent on the first syllable. The name probably means dusky water, Cym. *Llychwin*, dusky, and *ach*, water.

[11] The A.-S. rendering of *Ox* for *Ach* may be seen in the river-names Axe (Dorset and Somerset) and Exe (Devon), which represent Cym. *Ach*, river (not *Wysg*, as Canon Taylor supposed).

The *ax* termination is also seen in the name of the stream Sannox (Glensannox in Arran), early forms of which are Sannoc and Sannoch.

Lorn: this name is usually attributed to Loarn, one of the three sons of Erc, who, at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, led the Scots from Ireland to Dalriada in Scotland, where they established themselves. The eponymic method is always to be regarded with suspicion, and this is no exception to the rule. Lorn (e.f. Laern and Loren) may be derived from O. Ic. *Leira*, muddy shore, *Leir*, mud (Scots Lair or Lare, a bog), with an affix. Gordon of Straloch spells the name Laern. Cowal in Argyllshire is similarly derived by this eponymous method from Comgall, the grandson of Fergus, another of the sons of Erc. This name is probably the same as *Coul*, which, as we have seen, is to be interpreted as high or rising ground (Cym. *Còl*, a peak, O. Ic. *Kollr*, top or summit). By this reading, the attributes of Lorn and Cowal are in contradistinction.

Lothian (e.f. Lodene, Laudonia, Louthion, and the contracted form of Loonie) (see "Lewis"): Lodene seems to be *Llod* with an affix. The *ia* termination means "còuntry."

Lumgair: an e.f. Lunkyrr suggests marsh-land as the meaning (Ic. *kaer*, a marsh).[12]

Luss: the name is derived from the Luss rivulet (*cf.* R. Lussa and Lossie). O. Ic. *Ljóss*, bright or clear.

Mar (e.f. Marr): the same root as in "Mearns" (which see). An old province lying mainly between the Dee and the Don in Aberdeenshire. It is subdivided into Braemar, Midmar, and Cromar. Cym. *Mar*, what is flat.

[12] I suggest that the puzzling prefix *Lum* and *Lun* (variants *Lon*, *Long*) may have their source in O. Ic. *Lönd*, a nominal form of *Land*. In combination there would be a tendency to drop the final "d." An alternative suggestion is O. Ic. *Lón*, a lagoon.

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means "Loch Ewe." (Eng. *mere*, lake, is cognate with O. Ic. *marr*, Cym. *môr*, Gae. *muir*, all meaning "sea"; *cf.* Windermere, Grasmere, etc., where "mere" appears as a suffix).[13]

Markinch and *Merkinch:* in this prefix we may find from e.f. the Cym. word *March* (Gae. *Marc*), a horse, rather than O. Ic. *Mörk*, a wood, the name thus signifying a meadow (at one time insulated by water), used for pasturing horses. (This seems to be a more likely derivation than from *march*, a boundary).

Maybole: probably from Cym. *Mai*, a field, and *pwll*, a puddle or pool (e.f. Mayboile, also Minibole). (See *Mon*, prefix). The name may relate to the boggy part of the parish. This derivation is supported by an old couplet:—

"Minnibole's a dirty hole:
It sits aboon a mire."

Mearns: Dr. Skene believed that this name was a shortened form of *Magh Girghinn*, a name that appears in the Irish Annals; and on that supposition, he made essays in localisation that were otherwise baseless. There is not a vestige of authority in early forms for the belief that the name has anything to do with *Magh Girghinn*, and even on the face of it, the supposed contracted form is unlikely.

Mearns, the old name for Kincardineshire, and therefore situated in a characteristically Pictish district, appears in an e.f. as Meorne, and an Irish (*Book of the Dun Cow*) form as Mairne. Mearns in Lanarkshire appears in e.f. as Mearns, Meorns, and Mernis.

I derive the name from Cym. *Maran*, a holme, which would take the form of *Mern* in Scottish names (see

[13] There is reason to believe that the present sea-loch (Loch Ewe) and Loch Maree originally formed one lake called Loch Ewe.

Kilmarnock, Kilmaronock, where the same root appears as *mern* and *merann*). As applied to Kincardine, the name derives its appropriateness from the Howe (or *haugh*, or *marran*) district and the Deeside district. The "Mearns" therefore simply means "the meadows" (see "Mar").

Melrose (e.f. Mailros and Melros): a Cymric name meaning the sodden moor (*Mallu*, to sodden, *Mall*, softness, and *rhos*, a moor). The valley of Melrose must have been originally a marsh.

But the prefix *Mel*, when applied to sandy places on the coast, comes from O. Ic. *Melr*, sandbank.

There is a Melrose in Banffshire, which is probably from the same source as the better-known Melrose in the south.

Methven: there are several *Meths* in Scotland. The most obvious derivation of this name is from O. Fris. *Meth*, a meadow, and *fenne* (O. Ic. *vin*), pasture-land. This accords with early forms of the name, and is entirely appropriate. Corn. *meath* means a plain.[14]

Minto: a hybrid. Cym. *Mynydd*, a mountain, and *haugh*, a meadow (e.f. Mynetowe).

Moffat: (e.f. Moffete; a difficult name): Canon Taylor says that the names Moffat and Mowat are derived from the name of the Norman family of Montealt. It is rarely, however, that places take their names from persons: the contrary is the rule, to which exceptions are few, and, in any case, the equation between Moffat and Montealt is obscure. I suggest that Moffat means the

[14] Meath in Ireland, a province carved out of the four older provinces to provide the mensal-lands of the High Kings, may be derived also from *meath*, a plain. But the early forms suggest the usual derivation "middle," from its situation. If that is the correct derivation, the source must be O. Ic. *midr*, lying in the middle.

gravelly place (which accords with the fact), the root being O. Ic. *Möl*, gravel. The place-name Moll in Roxburghshire (a name to which the same origin may be assigned) is locally called Mow.

Montrose (e.f. Munros, Montrose, Monross): these forms at first suggest the prefix *Mon* (which see), and *ros*, a peninsula, in allusion to the site of the town. But *Mont*rose, a thirteenth century form, suggests that the hill of Montrose is intended, unless the "t" is a Gae. intrusive letter, which it probably is. The accent being on the suffix, it is the defining element in the name, which means, in all likelihood, the peninsula bog (*mon*) or moor dwelling.

Moray: previous to the consolidation of the Scottish dominion over what is now Scotland, Moray, as distinct from Scotia, was one of the great divisions over which the King of Scots exercised a nominal suzerainty. Gradually Moray was shorn of its former importance, and shrank to its present dimensions. The elucidation of the meaning of its name may be of some ethnological value.

It appears in various shapes, including Muireb and Muref (Irish), Moravia (Latin), Maerhaefui (Norse), and Morref (Scottish).

The e.f. of the name are alive in Welsh as *Morfa*, sea-brink, or salt marsh, and in Cornish as *Morva*, land by the sea. That Moreb = *Morfa* is shown by a charter of 736, included in Dr. Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, where the place-name Morfe is written Moerheb. Moray thus means sea-place, being derived from Cym. *Mór*, the sea, and *ma*, a place, the latter, in combination, becoming *va*, *fa*, *af*, or *ef* (see "Banff").

Morven and Morvern in Argyllshire, and Morven in Aberdeenshire contain the same prefix as Moray.

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same name (*Gwyndwr*); and the latter, in the form of *Wendur*, seems to have been applied to the original settlement on the Cart, thus confirming the suggestion that *Vanduara* = *Gwyndwr*.

The earliest forms of the present name are Passeleth and Paisleth, of which names, Paisley is a softened pronunciation. There is no record of the name older than 1157, the date upon which Malcolm IV. confirmed to Walter, High Steward of Scotland—the progenitor of the Royal Stewards or Stewarts—a grant by David I. of certain lands which included "Passeleth"; and on the lands of Passeleth (on the right bank of the River Cart) Walter founded Paisley Abbey.

Bearing in mind the importance of river-*fords* in determining the sites of towns before bridges were built, I am inclined to think that as Dunipace (the same root) was the place for crossing the Carron, so Paisley may have been the place for crossing the Cart. That circumstance would easily explain "Passeleth" as "the ford of the plain," *i.e.*, the flat land below the ridge on which Paisley was built (Cym. *Bais* or *Bas*, a ford or shallows, and *lledd*, a plain or flat. "P" and "B" interchange, and Cym. *Lledd* = Gae. *Leth*).

P*anbride* and P*anmure:* are two names in the same part of Scotland—Arbroath and Forfar—that may repay examination. The prefix "Pan" is probably the same prefix as "Pean," in *Peanfahel*, already discussed, and may be derived originally from the rocky coast. But it may have the secondary meaning of "dwelling" (see *Kin*). Bride is St. Bridget, to whom the ancient church of the parish was dedicated.

Panmure means literally "Muirhead" (*cf.* the personal name Muirhead), from Cym. *Pen* and O. Ic. *mór*, moor; and, in a secondary sense, moor-dwelling.

The forms *Pean* and *Pan* seem to be those taken by *Pen* in the Pictish language. E.f. give no countenance to the suggestion that *Pan* = Gae. *Ballin* or Cym. *Llan*.

Partick (e.f. Perdyec and Pertheck): Cym. *Perthawg*, having bushes. Partick therefore means "bush-land."

P*eebles* (e.f. Pobles and Pebles): from O. Welsh *Pebyll*, a tent; *Pebyllaw*, to encamp. Peebles thus means an encampment.

P*entland:* the Firth is called after the Picts, as shown by the name, Petland Fiord, given to it by the Norse in the historical era. Probably they found the name there before them.

The Pentland Hills, according to Bellenden, got their name for the same reason as the Pentland Firth. This seems probable from all that is known of the history of Lothian. But there is no e.f. to confirm the suggestion.

P*erth* (e.f. Pert and Perth): Old Perth, the site of which is about two miles from the present town, is called by Boece "Bertha," and Camden confirms that form, but does not give the source of his information. If the form was, in fact, Berth,[15] it may be referred to Cym. *Berth*, fair or pleasant (the Teut. personal name has the same meaning). But if the original name was Pert or Perth, we have to look to another Cym. word P*erth*, bushland, or brake, as its source. Camden says that old Berth, with "a Royal infant and all the inhabitants," was destroyed by an inundation of the Tay, and that the modern Perth was founded by William the Lion.

[15] The *Bartha-firdi* of the *Lodbrokar-quida* is believed by Skene to mean (*Celtic Scotland*, i., 311) the Firth of Tay.

Pluscarden (e.f. Ploschardin and Pluscarty): "Chardin" has already been examined (sée *Kin* and Kincardine). The prefix is apparently a Pictish form of Cym. P*lâs*, a hall or palace.

Pollokshaws and *Pollokshields:* "Pollok" in these names seems to mean "puddly" (Cym. *Pwll*, a puddle); *shaw* = wood; and *shields*, shielings. *Pol* appears in other place-names, *e.g.*, Polmadie, Polmont, Polton, Polwarth, etc. The last name gives an e.f., Powelsworth, suggesting a personal name: the owner of the *worth*.

Polmaise (e.f. Pollemase): Cym. P*wll*, a puddle, and *maes*, a plain or open field.

Portree (earlier Portri): usual explanation *Port righe*, Harbour of the King, being associated with James V., who visited the Hebrides in 1549 to tame the chiefs. Why Portree should be selected from the other stopping-places to commemorate the visit, or what its name was before the visit, nobody can say.

This derivation is not satisfactory. Probably the name means the stream (Raasay Sound), port: Cym. *Porth*, a port, and *rhëad*, a running or current (*rhe*, fleet). We find the same idea, doubtfully, in the name Raasay itself (O. Ic. *Rás*, a channel), but certainly in Kyle Rhea, the narrow channel that forms the northern portion of the Sound of Sleat.

Prestwick: this name means priest-wick or priest-hamlet, and is thus a purely A.S. name. This is an ancient burgh, whose "barons" or free-men long had certain peculiar privileges.

Quiraing: O. Ic. *Kvi*, pl. *Kviar*, folds or pens, and *eng*, meadow. This valley, which stands at an altitude of nearly 1,000 feet, seems to have been used by the Skye-men, when invaded by their enemies, as a place of concealment for their cattle.

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they must represent one of the earliest Norman-French names in Scotland, for Roxburgh appears on record as early as the reign of David I., and is believed to have existed before the twelfth century.

Ruthven (e.f. Ruthewen, Rothuan, Rothfen, and Ruven): these forms point to O. Ic. *Rud* (*Ruth*), a clearing in a wood, a prefix which appears in Scandinavian place-names (see Rath), and O. Ic. *vin*, pasture, or Cym. *gwaen*, a plain or meadow.

Sanquhar (e.f. Sanchar and Senewhare): a difficult name. The "old fort" (Gae. *Sean cathair*) is not convincing. It may be a Scandinavian name, meaning "sandy marsh" (*Sand-kaer*), for in composition, the "d" in "sand" is sometimes dropped.

Scone: perhaps the most important of all these place-names from an ethnological standpoint. For Scone was the Pictish capital before the Scots took possession of it. This is stated by John of Fordun, and confirmed by collateral evidence. The name, therefore, must surely have a Pictish origin.

Scone is clearly the word expressing "beautiful" that is common to all Teutonic languages. It is found with that meaning in numerous place-names all over the Teutonic area on the Continent. Kluge believes that the original meaning was "noteworthy," or "worth seeing," a verbal adjective from the Teut. root *Skau*, to look. The modern Ger. word is *Schön*, O. H. G. *Scôni*, O. Sax. *Skôni*, A. S. *Scyne* (from which is derived the Eng. word "sheen").

The O. Fris. form is *Scòne* (sometimes *Skin* and *Schin*), and the O. Ic. is *Skin* (Swed. *Skön*). The e.f. of the Perthshire Scone are Sgoinde (Gae.), Scoine, Scoan, Scon, and Scoon, the last form representing the

correct pronunciation of the name (*cf.* "Scoonie" (Leven)).[16]

It is a curious coincidence that we have here a purely Teutonic word, having the same meaning in an adjectival form as Cym. *Berth*, also an adjective, which I have examined in connexion with Perth; and the same adjectival form, as I have shown, meets us in the name of Crieff.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the name Scone, one of the ancient capitals of Pictavia, is strong evidence in favour of the Teutonic element in the Picts that I have been insisting upon. Whether the name was originally given by the Scandinavians, or the Low German people who, I have suggested, were superimposed upon the Picts, and became included in the name "Pictish," it is difficult to say. But it must be observed that it is only in Scandinavia that we find this place-name as an adjective, *e.g.*, *Skön* (North Sweden). In the numerous instances provided by Germany, where it takes the form of *Schön*, and in the Netherlands, where it appears as *Schoon*, it is always, I believe, a prefix in place-names.

Selkirk : see *Selgovae* in the Ptolemaic names (Kirk = church).

Shandon : O. Ic. *Sendinn*, sandy.

Sleat : O. Ic. *Slétta*, a plain, or level field.

Spittal : a Gae. form of "hospital," also found in O. Ic. (*Spitall*) and in Ger. (*Spital*). There are several "Spittals" in Scotland, the best known being the Spittal of Glenshee. The source of the word is Lat. *hospitâle*.

[16] *The New Statistical Account* states, however, that the old inhabitants of Scone pronounced the name like "Scin" or "Skuyn." (*Cf.* the place-names Skene and Skinflats.)

Stirling: e.f. Strivilen, Estriuelin, Estrevelyn, Strewelyn, and Striviling, the last a common form before the name became stereotyped as Stirling. This name is completely Cymric, consisting of *Ystre*, or *Ystred*, a village (*Ystref*, what forms a dwelling), and *gweling*, a clear space, the "g" being eliminated by combination with a prefix. We find examples in Wales which may be cited in illustration, e.g., Kilvellen, Llanvilling (both in N. Wales). On the other hand, we find Gwelyn Island (Carnarvon), which is probably the same word as *vellen and villing* in the cited forms of Stirling. I do not think that *vellen* or *velyn* is derived from a personal name, as is sometimes supposed. "Stirling" denotes a village built on a forest clearing; *ling* is the relic of *gweling*.

Stornoway (*Lewis*): the earliest form is Stornochway, but that form is no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. At the end of that century, it is Stornova, and at the beginning of the seventeenth, Stronway. Later it appears as Steornway, Stornway, Stronbay, and Sternbay. In a charter of incorporation, dated 1629 (which never took effect), it is spelt Stronway throughout—except once, when the spelling is Sternoway. The variations are evidently metathetic.

The usual derivation of the prefix is from O. Ic. *Stjórn*, steering, or its derivation, O. Ic. *Stjórna*, to govern; or the source of both, O. Ic. *Stjarna*, star, a suggestive word, by the way, for it shows how the Norsemen steered (starred) at night, and that the starboard was the steering side. It links together, moreover, the ideas of "steering" and "governing."

But "Steering Bay" (O. Ic. *Vágr*, bay) is far from being a satisfactory etymology, and I prefer to regard *Stron* as the true form of the prefix, and *Stiorn* as a

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margin of Loch Ryan), and O. Ic. *hrjúfr*, rough. The final "d" in "strand" is dropped as in "sand" (see "Sanquhar").

Struan and *Strowan* (Stroan in Ireland): probably Cym. *Ystref*, or *Ystre*, dwelling (see Stirling), and *owen* (*awon*), river.

Sutherland (e.f. Suthernelande): means the land to the south of the Ord or Mound (Mount), which forms a natural barrier between Caithness and Sutherland. In the twelfth century, Caithness and Sutherland were included in the name Cathanesia. The Gae. name for Caithness is *Gallaobh*, and for Sutherland *Cataobh*, the latter thus retaining the old name of the combined districts. The Norse sometimes designated Caithness by the name of *Nes*. The *Book of Deer* has the name as *Catness*, and the Irish "Nennius" as *Cat*. The old Earls of Sutherland were known as *Morfhear*, or *Duic* (duke), *Chatt* (see the prefix *Cat* or *Cait*, already fully discussed).

Tain (e.f. Tene and Tayne): the derivation from O. Ic. *Ting* (see Dingwall) is phonetically inadmissible. The word is probably referable to Cym. *Tain*, what spreads out, and *Taen*, a spread, in allusion to the outlet of Tain Water into the Dornoch Firth. The word has really the same force as Tay, that river, as we have seen, receiving its name from *Tâf*, a spread. Tain is situated on the margin of the Dornoch Firth, the sandbanks of which, however, render it harbour-less. It is celebrated for its ancient church, dedicated to St. Duthus, a favourite saint of James IV. (*Cf.* Taendore (Cromarty) and Tayinloan (Argyllshire.)

Tarbat or *Tarbert:* quite a number in Scotland. From Gae. *Tairbeart*, an isthmus, lit. "boat-drawing," from the practice of drawing boats across isthmuses to shorten

a journey. Tarbert (properly Tarbat) is derived from Gae. *Tarruing*, to draw, and *bàta*, boat (O.Ic.*bátr*, incorporated in Gae.).

Tarland (e.f. Tarualand), *Tarradale* (e.f. Taruedal), *Tarves* (e.f. Tarvas), *Torphichen*, *Torphins*, *Turriff* (e.f. *Turbruad*), and similar names may, with warrant, be ascribed to a Scandinavian source: either O. Ic. *Torf*, turf or peat, *Tyrfa*, to cover with turf; or, with perhaps greater likelihood, to *Torf-vidr*, resinous fir-tree, variants of which are *Tyrvi* and *Tyri*. The latter derivation is suggested by the early form of Turriff, a name that seems to mean a clearing in a fir-wood: *Turb* (=*Torf*), fir-tree, and *rud*, a clearing in a wood. Still more clearly is this etymology suggested by the place-names Torwood and Torwoodlee.

Tillimorgan: I mention this name on account of the suffix, for the prefix *Tilli* has already been dealt with. *Morgan* is not derived from a personal name, the contrary process applying here as usual. The word is Cym. *morgant*, sea-brink (*cf.* Glamorgan), Tillimorgan thus meaning the high place by the sea-brink, which agrees with the fact.

This place was also called Knock Morgan.

From the "Tullis" I select Tullibardine (e.f. Tulybardyne), of which there are two in Scotland, one at Crieff and the other in Moray. The Murrays, who became Earls, and afterwards Dukes, of Atholl, may have taken the name to Perthshire; it gives the title of Marquis to that family. The name is a hybrid, meaning "the summit" (Scand. *bard*, a summit or projection, with the usual affix. *Tulli* is a Gae. redundancy).

Tobermory = Ladywell: Gae. *Tobar Moire* = Well of Mary. That is the usual derivation, and probably the correct one.

Tongue (several): ranging from Sutherland to Lewis, and from Lewis to Galloway; the name is also found in England. It is derived from O. Ic. *Tunga*, a spit of land.

Traquair: e.f. (a great variety) show that the prefix must be Cym. *Tref*, a homestead; the homestead on the *Quair* rivulet.

Troon (e.f. Trunc, Truyn, and Trewin): Cym. *Trwyn*, a nose or point. Troon is situated on a promontory (*cf.* Duntroon, Argyllshire, and Dundee).

Trossachs: the celebrated pass at Loch Katrine. Many thousands of tourists must have asked what the word means, and it must be admitted that it is a difficult name.

It may be derived from the fact that the stream called the Achray, running through the valley of the Trossachs, connects the water of Loch Katrine with that of Loch Achray. Apparently the suffix is the familiar *ach*, water or river, and the prefix may be Cym. *Traws*, a traverse or a cross. Trossachs may thus be translated as "the crossing or connecting water." The terminational "s" is probably intrusive; it is like the "Ax" and "Ox" forms of *Ach*. Ben Aan, on one side of the stream, may take its name from that circumstance (Avon).

Urquhart (several, e.f. Urchard, Urquhart, Owrchard, and Urchurd): Adamnan's form, Airchardan, is the earliest form of the name.

I derive this name from Cym. *Orch*, a rim or limit, and *ard*, a dwelling, or *ardd*, ploughed land (see prefix *ard*). Adamnan's form has an affix. This etymology has its force from the fact that the various Urquharts stretch along the rim either of the sea, or (as in the

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing analyses—The earliest colonisation of Scotland from Ireland—A settlement of the Scots in Wales—The tradition in the *Life of St. Cadröe*—The Kingdom of Fife—The Dalriadic kingdom in Argyll—A Scottish settlement in Fife—The three sons of Erc—The extent of the Dalriadic sovereignty—The Northumbrians and the Scots—Fife an appanage of Dalriada—The relations between the Picts and the Scots—The nature of Kenneth MacAlpin's rights to the Pictish Crown.

It will now be useful to see where these analyses of place-names conduct us. If they carry conviction — and I have exposed to view every part of the etymological machinery — they cannot fail to lead to four conclusions: (first) that the oldest names in Scotland are mainly of Cymric origin; (secondly) that they are intermingled with a substantial proportion of Scandinavian names; (thirdly) that these names sometimes combine a Cymric prefix with a Scandinavian suffix, and *vice versâ*; and (fourthly) that contrary to the generally received belief, the oldest Celtic names (even in the Gaelic districts) are of Cymric rather than Gaelic origin. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that the later names in the Gaelic districts, such as the names of villages, small streams, and the less prominent features of the landscape generally, are pure Gaelic: they are names obviously given by a later stratum of population. But the failure to discriminate between Cymric and Old Gaelic is intelligible, when it is understood that Cymric is the mother of Gaelic. And the failure to discriminate between Cymric and Pictish, Gaelic and Pictish, and Teutonic and Pictish, is also intelligible when it is understood that all of them are relatives in varying degrees of kinship.

Having established these theses, as well by analogy as by direct proof, I shall sketch briefly the historical events that led to a partial fusion of the Picts and Scots, and the causes that hindered a complete amalgamation. The first event that demands attention is the colonisation of districts in Scotland by bands of Scots from Ireland.

Dismissing as a baseless fiction, the establishment of a Scottish monarchy in Britain hundreds of years before the birth of Christ—an invention of John of Fordun—we may glance at the traditional settlement, in the third century of our era, by Irish colonists whom Bede calls the *Dal Reudini*. Their leader is said to have been named Cairbre Riada, an eponym which need not detain us. The presumption is, that these immigrants—Richard of Cirencester calls them "Picts"—proceeded from the north of Antrim, where the Irish Annalists place a district which they call Dalriada. The name *Dal Reudini* reads literally "the Reudings" part or share—"in the Scots language," says Bede, "*dal* means a part"—and it bears a striking resemblance to a tribal name, the *Reudigni* or *Reudingi*, Reud's descendants (*ing*) mentioned by Tacitus. The oldest settlement of this tribe was on the sands of Luneberg, this side of the Elbe; but in the time of Tacitus, they dwelt in part of the present duchy of Mecklenburg, and of Lauenburg. I do not wish to labour the resemblance of these tribal names, but their similitude is not a little remarkable.

Skene and others reject the tradition of this Irish settlement in Scotland, but it must be confessed that the reasons for the rejection are not conclusive. Obviously, this is the colonisation of Dalrieta, under the leadership of "Istoreth," which Nennius mentions:[1] the name "Istoreth" suggests the supposed Danubian origin of the Picts. But whether the colony was Pictish or Scottish, that some such emigration from Ireland to Scotland took

[1] Nennius, sec. 14.

place, perhaps in the third century, is likely enough. It is impossible to believe that there were no emigrations from Ireland to Scotland, before the historical establishment of the Scottish monarchy at the end of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth, century.

The Scots who, in alliance with the Picts, harassed the Britons in Scotland during the later Roman epoch, were not wholly a band of Irish adventurers, who returned to Ireland with their plunder. Ammian describes the Scots as a restless, wandering people; and no doubt it was the normal occupation of some of them to cross to Scotland, rob the Britons, and return to Hibernia with the booty; just as at the present day, Irish labourers cross the Irish Channel on an honester errand, returning home with the golden guineas of the Saxon. But we know from Nennius that a Scottish colony settled, at an early period, in South Wales (Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Glamorgan), whence the descendants of the colonists were afterwards expelled by Cunedda and his sons.[2] If we had inference alone to guide us, we should certainly look for similar settlements among the Picts of Scotland. Gildas clearly implies by the language he uses that the nature of the common tie between the Picts and the Scots, who harried the Britons, was not merely predatory, but was cemented by vicinage.[3] And when Bede says that both peoples so associated were "transmarine" nations, he explains the expression by the fact that they both dwelt benorth the Firths.[4] There is thus every justification for believing that there were Scots from Ireland settled among the Picts of Scotland, long before the three sons of Erc landed in Argyllshire.

There is a remarkable account of a Scottish settlement in Colgan's edition of the *Life of St. Cadröe*, the authorship

[2] These colonists are called by Nennius (sec. 14) "the sons of Liethali," denoting, apparently, people from a flat country.

[3] Gildas, sec. 19. [4] B. i., c. 12.

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the powerful king of that name who died in 761—gave St. Regulus, or St. Rule, a gift of land as a reward for bringing the bones of St. Andrew[8] to Scotland, presupposes the existence of the name Rigmoneth before the time of Angus. The church founded by Angus on this land bore the name of Kilrymont, afterwards changed to Kilrule, or the Church of St. Regulus, which name was also applied to the town itself, in substitution for Rigmoneth.

A document quoted by Skene, and regarded by him as ancient and authentic, throws some light upon this monarchy in Fife. It states that from Eachach Buidhe, son of Aedain, the King of Dalriada, inaugurated by St. Columba, there branched off two clans, "the clan Fergusa Gall, son of Eachach Buidhe, or the Gabhranaigh, and the clan Conall Cerr, son of Eochaid Buidhe, who are the men of Fife in the sovereignty; that is, the clan of Kenneth, son of Alpin, son of Aidan."[9] If this means anything at all, it implies a Scottish monarchy in Fife: the name Rathelpin (Rathelpie) in Fife suggested to Skene that Alpin, the father of Kenneth, had a fort in that district.

If we assume that a genuine historical fact underlies the story of a Scottish settlement in the *Life of St. Cadröe*, it is not difficult to believe that co-existing with, and perhaps anterior to, the Dalriadic Kingdom founded by the Scots, the centre of which was in Argyll, there was another Scottish Kingdom on the east coast, the centre of which was in Fife. The tradition dates back the establishment of Scottish influence in Fife, prior to the time of Patrick, for it states that many years after the arrival of the *Chorisci* in Fife, they received the Christian faith by that saint.[10] This, of course, pre-dates by a substantial period the arrival of the sons of Erc, who are believed to have crossed from

[8] St. Andrew ousted St. Peter as the patron saint of Pictland, and has since remained as the patron saint of Scotland.

[9] *Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 322.

[10] Innes, p. 118 (1885).

Ireland at the end of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth, century.

Of the three sons of Erc, viz., Fergus, Loarn, and Angus, the last two are suspiciously like tribal eponyms, though all three are said to have been buried in Iona.[11] One meets "three brothers" in tradition so frequently in the eponymic capacity, that unless there is historical evidence to the contrary, it is usually safe to attach a non-personal meaning to their names. Loarn probably means the tribe that took possession of Lorn, and Angus (more doubtfully) may be referable to the eponym of the tribe that settled in Islay and Jura. From the three brothers were descended the three tribes named Cinel Gabran (not, be it observed, the Cinel Fergus) the Cinel Loarn, and the Cinel Angus. The Cinel Gabran were in Cowall; the Cinel Loarn in Lorn; and the Cinel Angus in Islay and Jura.

The historical existence of Fergus is supported by a strong body of consistent tradition, which makes him the first king of all the Scots dwelling in the country that is now called Scotland. The possessions of the three tribes formed the Kingdom of Dalriada, which was separated from Pictavia by the ridge or watershed called Drumalban, bounding the present counties of Argyll and Perth. There was thus a natural barrier dividing the two nations, but the encroachments of the Scots at a later period placed them temporarily in possession of a more extended territory, the exact limits of which it is difficult to define. The *Chronica Regum Scotorum*, compiled in the reign of William the Lion, makes their limits from Drumalban to the Irish Sea, and the Inchegall, i.e., the foreigners' (Scandinavian) isles (the Western Isles).[12] A register of the Church of St. Andrews, compiled at the beginning of the reign of Alexander III. (confirmed

[11] *Celtic Scotland*, ii., p. 290.

[12] Innes (1885), p. 361, and Appendix, p. 418.

by a transcript dating from the reign of William),[13] gives them the same extent of territory, but substitutes "Sluagh Muner" for the Irish Sea. Wyntoun[14] gives "Stanemore" in place of Sluagh Muner (or Sluaghmorre, as the transcript has it). Fordun makes the limits from the mountains (Drumalban) *ad mare Scoticum*, which he explains by stating that Fergus, the first King of the Scots, gained some lands beyond Drumalban towards the end of his reign.[15]

All this plainly suggests that the Dalriadic sovereignty was more extensive than has generally been supposed. The Scottish Sea was a name given by old English writers to the Firth of Forth; and Sluaghmore (which means Slough or Boggy Moor) may be identified with the district of Manau or Manann, represented by the modern names of Clackmannan (which has the same meaning as "Stanemore") and Slamannan[16] (which is equatable with Sluaghmore).[17] Skene states that King Aidan, before his accession to the throne of Dalriada, "seems to have had claims upon the district of Manau or Manann, peopled by the Picts."[18] Aidan did not ascend the throne of Dalriada until 574, but for six years previously, as shown by Tighernach, he was reigning elsewhere; and Skene is at a loss to know of what district he was king. May it not have been the Kingdom of Fife?

A similar difficulty appears when we come to the reign of Kenneth MacAlpine. "Where," asks Skene, "was the kingdom of his father Alpin, and where did Kenneth rule during the first six years after his father's death in 832? Not in the kingdom of the Picts, for he only obtained the

[13] Innes (1885), p. 362, and Appendix, p. 421.

[14] *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 433. [15] *Ibid.*, p. 364.

[16] An early form of Slamannan is Slethmannin (Scots *Sleuth* and *Slough*).

[17] The Welsh word *Manau* is connected with Cym. *maion*, peat.

[18] *Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 160. Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 238), identifies the Welsh Manau Gustodin with the district of Manann in Scotland, but the Manau Gustodin of Nennius, from which district Cunedda ejected the Scots (Nennius, sec. 62), was in South Wales.

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army" against the English; and (2) that, if, as is generally believed, the Scots were confined to a corner on the west coast, we should find them struggling for supremacy in the Lothians with the powerful King of Northumbria.

All this seems to show that the Scots were strongly established on the east coast as well as the west; and that from their settlement in Fife, they had crossed the Firth of Forth and encroached upon the Anglian possessions in the Lothians, whence they were expelled by Ethelfrid, and driven back to their kingdom benorth the Firth. This kingdom must have been an appanage of Dalriada, where the throne of all the Scots residing in Britain, established by Fergus,[21] continued to be the supreme authority; just as the Dalriads in Scotland acknowledged the supremacy of Dalriada in Ireland, until the Convention of Drumceatt, held in 575, during the reign of Aidan, proclaimed their independence.

That Fife was a peculiarly Scottish district, is shown by the allusion in the Pictish Chronicle to the *Scotti*, who were defeated by the Danes at Dollar in 877; the first appearance in the Chronicle (as Skene remarks) to the Scots in Pictavia;- and the reference is to the Scots of the province of Fife in particular.[22] After the establishment of the Scottish dynasty over the Picts, this province was singled out for special favour by the new line of kings. It was the leading province of Scotland; its earls occupied the first place among the seven earls of the kingdom; and the right of placing the king on the Coronation Stone, and of heading the van in the army, were privileges which seem to have been vested in the province;[23] while the importance of the district is equally typified by the mystical Thane of Fife, who figures so prominently in Shakespeare's "Macbeth."

[21] This must be the meaning of Fergus having been the first king of the Scots. (See Innes, pp. 359-360.) He was "the first king over the Scots," says Fordun.

[22] *Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 328.

[23] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 306.

If, then, there was, in fact, a Scottish kingdom in Fife, subordinate to the Ard-king in Dalriada, what were its relations with the Pictish monarchy, which undoubtedly included the whole eastern country north of the Firth of Forth? The same question may well arise in relation to Dalriada, for, as Bede tells us, the Firth of Clyde formerly divided the Picts from the Britons; and the Scots having settled on the north side of the Firth must necessarily have intruded on Pictish territory. No certain answer can be given to this question, for there are no proved facts on which to base a conclusion. Inferentially, however, it would appear that the ancient alliance between the Picts and the Scots, secured for the latter territorial rights on a basis of independent sovereignty, after the Dalriadic kingdom had been firmly established. The Scots were useful buffers on the west against the Britons, and on the east against the Angles; and although for a certain period during the seventh century, Scots and Picts alike (as well as the Britons) fell temporarily under the sway of the all-conquering Angles, the common interests of both nations were exemplified by the common relief that followed the crushing defeat of the Angles by the Picts at the battle of Dunnichen, fought in the year 685.

This question of the relations existing between the two peoples, and the bounds of their respective territories, is curiously illustrated by the uncertainty that attaches to the donation of Iona to St. Columba. Bede's statement is that the Picts were the donors; but the Irish Annals ascribe the gift to Conal, son of Comgall, the King of the Scots. The question acquires importance only as fixing the bounds of the two nations; and the discrepancy between the authorities is best explained by the assumption that the gift was actually made by Conal, but was confirmed by the King of the Picts as his suzerain. The Picts must have been the paramount power throughout Alban (i.e., north of the Firths) during the sixth century; and it may well be that a stricter assertion

of suzerain rights may have been the basis of the struggle for supremacy between the two peoples that form so arresting a feature of Albanic history during the eighth and ninth centuries.

If, as I have sought to show, this Scottish sub-monarchy in the province of Fife, prior to the union of the Picts and Scots, had a real existence, the relations of that monarchy with the neighbouring power in Fortrenn must have been of a more or less intimate character. The friendship between the two Crowns seems to have been cemented by the marriage of Achaius, King of the Scots, to Fergusia, daughter of Hungus, or Angus, King of the Picts; and their son Alpin, after the death of his brother-in-law, Uwen, and on the failure of an heir in the Pictish line of succession, claimed the throne of the Picts in right of his mother. This claim was resisted; and a Pict named Wrad, the validity of whose title is unknown, ascended the throne. After the death of Alpin, who was killed in battle in 834, his son and heir, Kenneth, seems to have pressed with energy his claim to the throne, and I find in the abstract of Pictish Kings embodied in the text of Innes's "Essay,"[24] that the name of Kenneth MacAlpin, *Rex Scotorum*, appears in conjunction with that of Wrad, whose reign commenced in 839, and lasted only three years. This conjunction of names seems to imply, not a joint reign, but the contemporaneity of a holder of, and a claimant to, the throne. But we do not find the same conjunction of names in the case of Brude, the successor of Wrad, who reigned but one year, during which Kenneth MacAlpin used the sword so vigorously in the prosecution of his claim, that in the year 843, he ascended the Pictish throne, and became the first ruler of the combined nations of the Picts and Scots.

The exact nature of Kenneth's rights to the Pictish Crown is not stated by Fordun. He says, however, that the

[24] Innes (1885), p. 92.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

The Romans and the Picts—The Attacots—St. Columba's mission to the Picts non-political—The Picts at Loch Ness—The Shamanism of the Picts—The Pictish monarchy on the banks of the Earn—The relations between the Picts and the Angles—The extent of the Anglic sovereignty over the Picts—The population of Lothian—The struggle for the possession of Lothian—The "Commendation of Scotland"—The English claims analysed—The cession of Lothian to Scotland—The Scottish victory at Carham.

THE allusions to the Picts throughout the writings of the Roman authors are vague and unsatisfying. From the Roman standpoint, they were a race of troublesome savages on the skirts of the Empire, who annoyed with irritating persistence the Romanised and enervated Britons with their unwelcome attentions, and whose waspish tactics could only be checkmated by an exasperating expenditure of Roman blood and treasure. Their associates, now the Scots, and again the Saxons, were at times equally troublesome, but the Picts were the chief offenders. The identity of a fourth element of the league, the *Attacotti*, mentioned by Ammian, has provided scope for a good deal of speculation. Who and what were the Attacots? They have somtimes been identified with the *Aitheach Tuatha*, the servile, tribute-paying, Firbolgic people in Ireland, who, under the leadership of Cairbre Cinnceat,[1] rose in successful revolt (the date of which is uncertain), and for a time ruled their former masters.[2]

[1] Cairbre Cinnceat was a Firbolg. The *Coir Anmann* says that he was head (*Cinn*) of the Catraige, by which name must be meant the servile tribes (Cym. *Caeth*, bondman). *Aitheach Tuatha* probably denotes "skulking people" (Cym. *Athech*, "skulking" or "lurking").

[2] This revolt bears a striking resemblance to the insurrection of the Bagaudians, the peasant slaves who, in 285, ravaged North Gaul. Perhaps the revolt of the *Aitheach Tuatha* is an Irish version of the Bagaudian rising. The Irish texts mention two rebellions of the same people.

There is nothing, however, except a fancied resemblance between the names, to connect the *Aitheach Tuatha* with the *Attacotti*. The latter name seems to denote a wandering people (Cym. *Attai*, a vagabond), and the suffix *cotti* probably means that they were forest-dwellers (Cym. *coed*, wood). A fierce, barbarous people they were, beyond doubt, if we are to believe St. Jerome, who tells us that they were cannibals: he had seem them in his youth, he says, eating human flesh at Treves, where the Attacots who, as "bonnie fechters," had been recruited for the Roman armies, were then stationed. In all probability, they were Britons who had lost their tribal rights—like the "broken men" of the Highlanders in historical times—and were ready to offer their swords wherever chances of plunder were available. They would naturally drift to the side of the Picts in attack-their former associates; and their habits breeding hardiness, while their condition induced recklessness, they would easily develop into the "warlike tribe of men" described by Ammian.

Until the time of St. Columba, we get no clear view of the Pictish monarchy. The nature of Columba's mission to the Picts in 565 was never in doubt, I believe, until Skene suggested that its object was "partly religious, and partly political."[3] The only evidence he adduces in support of the political theory, is the so-called prophecy of St. Berchan, a poem of the eleventh century, in which the author makes the following cryptic allusion to the Saint's mission:—

> **"Woe to the Cruithnigh to whom he will go eastward**
> **He knew the thing that is**
> **Nor was it happy with him that an Erinach**
> **Should be king in the east under the Cruithnigh."[4]**

Dr. Skene reads into these wholly ambiguous words, an allusion to the political character of Columba's mission.

[3] *Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 142, and ii., p. 83.
[4] *The Prophecy of St. Berchan*, p. 82.

Even if the words were capable of bearing that construction (which in my opinion they are not), it is surely asking too much that we should accept the evidence, on that point, of a writer who lived five hundred years after the event. No previous author, so far as I know, has given even a hint that Columba's visit had a political complexion. Neither Bede nor Ethelwerd, nor the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, nor (above all) Columba's biographer, Adamnan, gives any warrant for that belief;[5] nor is there proof, either evidential or inferential, that any political issue flowed from Columba's visit to King Brude. Yet Skene (followed by others), has not hesitated to assume that the mission was prompted by "the hazardous position in which the small Christian colony of the Scots were placed, in close contact with the still pagan nation of the Northern Picts under their powerful monarch Brude."[6] Argyll and Inverness are not exactly contiguous, and the "close contact" of the quotation is not obvious. Nor is it obvious how the Dalriadic Kingdom could be in the east (of Alban), though a Kingdom in Fife would be appropriately so described.[7] Skene's suggestion I believe to be a wholly mistaken view. Bede tells us that the Southern Picts, "who dwell on this side of those mountains (the Grampians), had long before, as is reported," been converted to Christianity by St Ninian (or

[5] "He (*i.e.*, Columba) converted that nation (the Picts) to the faith of Christ by his preaching and example" (*Bede*). "Christ's servant, Columba, came from Scotia (Ireland) to Britain to preach the word of God to the Picts" (Ethelwerd). "Columba the presbyter came from the Scots among the Britons to instruct the Picts, and he built a monastery in the island of Hii" (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle). "The holy man preached" (in the province of the Picts), says Adamnan (who describes his missionary work), "through an interpreter" among the Picts. But he has nothing to say about a political mission to King Brude.

[6] *Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 142.

[7] St. Berchan's "east" cannot mean the geographical situation of Dalriada in relation to Ireland, for he states that Kenneth MacAlpin was the first Irish king that possessed "in the east" (*Prophecy*, p. 83), by which Pictland is clearly indicated.

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to have control over the elements. their feats of black magic being exactly analogous to those accredited to the Dananns by the Irish texts. The armour of faith possessed by the Christian saints always proved invulnerable to magic arts (see the allusion in St. Patrick's *Lorica* to "Druidic spells"); and thus we find St. Columba confounding King Brude's Druids with his superior skill in miracle-working. The Druidism of the Picts was similar to the Black Art, a knowledge of which may have been acquired by the Scandinavians from the Lapps: the Pictish *magi* performed the same offices, and laid claim to the same supernatural powers, as the Finnish Shamans. The Picts also worshipped springs, but their worship was inspired by fear, for according to Adamnan, those who drank of the springs or washed in them, were rendered "leprous, or purblind, or else weak, lame, or beset by some other maladies." St. Columba blessed one of these springs, and washed in it, whereupon "many diseases among the people were cured by the same fountain."[9] Thus, some of the holy wells may be a legacy from paganism, with this important difference, that the blessing of a saint robbed them of their former noxious effects; and gave them healing properties in substitution. Under paganism they killed; under Christianity they cured.

In the seventh century, we find the seat of the Pictish sovereignty shifted from the banks of the Ness to the banks of the Earn in Perthshire. This seems to imply a change in the relative importance of the Northern and the Southern Picts, the explanation of which may have been the growing aggressiveness of the Angles.

After the Romans had finally left the enfeebled Britons to their own devices, the Picts seem to have taken possession of part of Valentia (the district lying between the two Walls), ejecting the Britons, or, what is more probable, subjecting

[9] The Life of St. Columba, B. ii., c. 11.

them to their rule. The Kingdom of Bernicia, established by Ida in 547, was gradually extended northwards, until it reached the Firth of Forth, the Picts in Valentia being forced back by, or rendered tributary to, the Northumbrians. The possession of this district continued to form a fruitful source of dissension between the two peoples, which reached its climax in the second half of the seventh century. In 670, the Picts attacked the Angles, but were repulsed with great slaughter by King Egfrid. In 685 Egfrid retaliated, by attacking the Picts in their own country north of the Forth. But at Dunnichen he met with a crushing defeat at the hands of King Brude,[10] which crippled the Northumbrian power so effectively, as to leave the Picts in undisputed possession of the debatable lands between the Walls. As may be inferred from Bede's statement, that the Firth of Forth divided "the territories of the Angles and the Picts," the Northumbrians continued to claim a nominal sovereignty over the district they had lost; but its effectiveness is at least doubtful. After the battle of Dunnichen, some of the Angles fled southwards, and those who remained were enslaved by the Picts. The Lothians are not so English as is generally believed; and it cannot be doubted that there is a strain of Pictish blood intermingled with the undoubted Anglic and other elements.

The decay of the Northumbrian power coincided with an increase of Pictish influence, and it is significant that we find a Northumbrian king, on two separate occasions (in the second half of the eighth century), seeking an asylum with the Picts. Innes believes that it was soon afterwards that

[10] The site of the battle is believed to be Dunnichen in Forfarshire. But the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle places it "near the North Sea." Bede tells us that Egfrid's attack on the Picts was undertaken "much against the advice of his friends," and particularly of St. Cuthbert. Bede criticises, also, Egfrid's action in sending his general Beort to Ireland, where "he wasted that harmless nation, which had always been most friendly to the English."

the latter absorbed Galloway,[11] where there may have been a previous colony of Irish Picts, though the proofs of the settlement are entirely inferential. Further conflicts between the Picts and the Angles are recorded, but they do not seem to have affected the firm hold obtained by the Picts over the province they had wrested from Northumbria. Bede and Tighernach mention that the Picts, in 698, killed Berctred, a duke, or leader, of the Northumbrians; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that in 699, the Picts slew Beort; while all three authorities concur in recording under date 710 or 711 (the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Ethelwerd say 710), a battle fought between the Picts and Berctfrid) between the Avon (Hæfe) and Carron (Cære), in which, according to Tighernach, the Picts were defeated.

We are told by English and Scottish historians alike, that for thirty years—from the time of Oswiu of Northumbria to their victory at Dunnichen in 685—the Picts, or at any rate, the Southern Picts, lay under the dominion of the Angles. The only authority cited is Bede's assertion[12] that Oswiu made tributary the greater part of the Picts, a vague statement at best. What Picts, it may be asked, were thus brought under his dominion? If they were the Picts north of the Forth, there must surely have been an effective Anglic occupation of their territory. There is nothing in Bede or any other writer to bear out that assumption; nor, it may be added, is it warranted by any traces of ancient place-names of English origin.

It would seem to be the fact that Bede's "greater part of the Picts" is an exaggerated form of speech for the Picts of North Bernicia, known later as Lothian. We find that in 681, Trumwine was consecrated Bishop of the Picts.[13] Bede's statement is that Trumwine was ordained "in the province of the Picts, which at the time was subject to the

[11] Innes (1885), p. 70.

[12] B. ii., c. 5, and B. iii., c. 24.

[13] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

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ceivable that two nations would suffer themselves to be enslaved by the Northumbrian Kings, unless they had been conquered, and their territories occupied by the conquerors? The truth is, that the population of Lothian at this period must have been composed, not only of Angles and Picts, but of Britons and Scots. The Britons were there before the other races. If there were no Scots, why should Aidan, King of the Scots, have marched to Dawston in 603, because (as Bede expressly states) he was "concerned at the success" of Ethelfrid's campaign against the Britons? That the latter were in Lothian is shown by Bede's further statement that Ethelfrid, "a most worthy king and ambitious of glory . . . conquered more territories from the Britons, either making them tributary or driving the inhabitants clean out, and planting English in their places, than any other king or tribune."[18] This must have been the most important epoch of the English settlements in Lothian. The only record of an English conquest on the west coast is that contained in the additions to Bede, under date 750, in which year, we are told, "Eadbert added the plain of Kyle (Ayrshire) and other places to his dominions."[19]

From the tangle of confusion in which this subject is involved, one fact seems to emerge: that the possession of Lothian formed for centuries a bone of contention, first between the Northumbrians and the Picts, and later between England and Scotland. A remarkable statement, attributed by Innes to Giraldus Cambrensis, "no friend to the Scots," and to other authors, "of whom Ranulfus Cestrensis gives us extracts in his Polychronicon,"[20] tells as that Kenneth MacAlpin was master of all the territories from

[18] B. i., c. 34.

[19] If "Pentland" means Petland or Pictland, it would imply that the hills so named were in, or bounded, Pictish territory.

[20] Innes (1885), p. 329. The reference is *Polychronicon*, edit. Galas., pp. 194, 209, 210.

the Firths of Forth and Clyde to the Tweed, and that he had vanquished the Saxons six times. The latter statement is confirmed by an extract of an ancient Chronicle of the reigns of eleven Kings of Scotland, from Kenneth MacAlpin to Kenneth III., son of Malcolm I., covering a period of about one hundred and thirty years.[21] This is the source[22] —extracted, in the opinion of Innes, from an Irish Chronicle—of the most notable statement, that in the reign of Indulph (954-962), Edinburgh was evacuated and left to the Scots, "in whose possession it is at this day."

So, if Kenneth MacAlpin was really in possession of Lothian, that province may have been retaken once more by the English, within a century after his death. This is not necessarily the fact, for the evacuation of Edinburgh by, presumably, an English garrison, may mean that the garrison was placed there by Athelstan during his triumphal progress through part of Scotland in 933. In 937, we find the Scots and the Britons of Strathclyde leagued with the Danes in an effort to recover for the latter the sovereignty of Northumbria; but the combined forces were shattered by Athelstan at the battle of Brunanburgh. King Constantine, the "hoary warrior" of the Scots, left his son dead on the field.

According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in 945, Athelstan's successor, Edmund (bent, it is supposed, upon detaching the Scots from the Danes), invested Malcolm I., who succeeded Constantine on the Scottish throne, with the fief of Cumberland, on condition that Malcolm was to become his "fellow-worker" (the phrase is important) by sea and land. There is no suggestion of overlordship here; and the statement by Simeon of Durham that Malcolm III. in 1092 held Cumberland by "conquest,"

[21] Innes, Appendix iii.

[22] One writer after another gives the source as the Pictish Chronicle. This is an error.

further weakens the argument that the cession, or the conquest, of Cumberland—whichever it was—implied English suzerainty over Scotland.

This claim brings us back to the celebrated Commendation of Scotland in 924, which has formed the subject of an animated duel between Freeman and E. W. Robertson. The Winchester Chronicle is the authority for the statement that "the King of the Scots and the whole nation of the Scots" chose King Edward the Elder "to father and lord" —whether at Bakewell in Derbyshire (an unlikely place) or elsewhere, is not of prime importance. What was the "consideration" for this submission, or what events led up to it? The Chronicle does not say, and its palpable anachronism regarding Reginald, the leader of the Irish Danes, does not inspire confidence in its authority. Yet it was mainly upon this supposed Commendation that Edward I., in 1291, based his untenable claims to the vassalage of Scotland, which were revived by Henry VIII. in the sixteenth century.

There is nothing more likely than that the ambition of Edward the Elder aspired to become the Emperor, or Basileus, or Kaiser, of the whole of Britain. He was by far the most powerful king in the island; and he ruled a nation whose resources greatly exceeded those of all the sister states. The formation of a league, composed of the whole of the national elements of Britain, with England as natural head, was sound policy at a time when all were threatened by a common foe, the Danish "barbarians," or "heathen," or "pagans," as they were variously designated by the Christianised inhabitants of Britain and Ireland. Beyond doubt, therefore, the policy of Edward was directed towards that end; and the attempt seems to have met with a measure of success.

It will be observed that the English Chronicles makes no suggestion of a forced submission to Edward on the part of

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to acknowledge the lordship of Athelstan, or the suzerainty of England.

Athelstan was succeeded by his brother Edmund, and his grant of Cumberland—by which must be understood the modern Cumberland—to Malcolm, King of the Scots, has already been noticed. A "fellow-worker" is not a subject; and the attempts that have been made to show that the phrase is the language of diplomacy for a vassal, are futile. Edmund was succeeded by his brother Edred. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states (946) that "the Scots gave him oaths that they would do all he would." This has been interpreted as an act of vassalage; and no doubt the words are capable of that interpretation; though the meaning of a voluntary promise to be his "fellow-worker" is equally arguable. But the relations between Edred and the Scots are shown by the wording of Edred's charters. In these, the imperial scope of his throne is defined as the "four-fold empire of the Anglo-Saxons and Northumbrians, Pagans, and Britons." The Northumbrians were the mixed people of Northumbria, including the population of Lothian; by the "Pagans" are to be understood the Danes among the East Anglians and the East Saxons; and by the "Britons," the people of Wales and Cornwall. Whether the word "Britons" included also the inhabitants of Cumberland and Strathclyde is perhaps doubtful. But it will be observed that there is not a word here about the Scots; and the omission proves that no claim was made to the suzerainty of that people. It is difficult, therefore, to resist the conclusion that the Anglo-Saxon scribes, influenced by pride of race, went beyond the facts in their repeated assertions of Anglic dominance over the Scottish people and their Kings.

It may well be that there was an acknowledgment by the latter of English supremacy over Lothian, during the time that the English rule over that district was effective. That would have been a mere recognition of facts; and could not

be in any way construed as a national act of vassalage. As already stated, the population of Lothian must have included a strong admixture of Britons, Picts, and Scots, and for the welfare of these Picts and Scots, the Kings of the Scots were directly responsible. That welfare could only have been secured by an admission of English suzerainty over Lothian; however vigorously the superior rights which the Scottish Kings conceived that they possessed over the province may have been reserved. In Ethelwerd's Chronicle, it is stated that the Scots gave Edred "oaths of allegiance and immutable fidelity." That would accurately describe the attitude of the Scottish and Pictish population of Lothian on the accession of a new king, "to whom all the Northumbrians became subject"; but it cannot be true of a nation over whom Edred, as shown by his charters, did not claim even a nominal suzerainty.

The English version of the cession of Lothian to Scotland is, that King Edgar of England granted it to Kenneth II., King of Scots (971-995), on condition of Kenneth's recognition of English superiority; and a dubious tale (accepted by Freeman as authentic) that Kenneth was one of the six (or was it eight?) kings who rowed Edgar's barge on the Dee, is cited as proof of Scottish vassalage. If the transference of Lothian took place during the reign of Edgar, it is strange that so important an event should have entirely escaped the cognisance of contemporary writers, or writers who lived anywhere near that time.

It is clear (1) that the Picts persistently claimed, and at various periods occupied, Lothian; (2) that the Kings of Scots who inherited the whole of the Pictish possessions no less persistently maintained those claims; and (3) that finally, the English withdrew their opposition to the Scottish demands. The statement of John of Wallingford that, when the cession took place, provision was made for the retention by the English inhabitants of Lothian of their old customs,

language, and name, is probably substantially correct. The whole question of the possession of Lothian was settled once for all by the great victory of the Scots over the English at Carham in 1018. What may have been previously lacking in entire independence of English superiority, was secured by "the strong hand."

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shown that the original Picts of tradition were apparently Scandinavians; that the later Picts were composed of a mixture of Scandinavians and Cymri; and that still later, a Low German element was intruded. The result of this admixture of peoples was, that when the Pictish nation reached the zenith of its power, its component parts were predominantly Teutonic; and the Pictish language had become correspondingly modified in a Teutonic direction, its latest phases (at any rate on the east coast) exhibiting substantially the same peculiarities as characterise the speech of the eastern counties at the present day.

To the Pictish factors in the population, were added the purely Cymric element of the British tribes.[1] These tribes, particularly in Strathclyde, long retained a separate national existence, until they were absorbed in the broad stream of Scottish nationality. The Scottish tribes from Ireland who eventually dominated the whole country, introduced the Gaelic language, which was mainly cognate with, but structurally different from, the Cymric, and possessed features akin to the elements of the Pictish language. The Northumbrian settlements, chiefly in Lothian, added an important Anglian factor to the population of the south; and the latest wave of Scandinavian immigration, possibly in the eighth, and certainly in the ninth century, permanently modified the Celticism of the north and north-west. This ethnic admixture was supplemented by the stream of Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Danish, and Norman adventurers, who found a refuge in Scotland, particularly during the reigns of Malcolm III. and David I.; and to these may be added some Flemish settlers at different

[1] There was a British element in Fortrenn, according to the Irish Annals. If the Picts were purely Cymric, why should these Britons be distinguished from the Cruithne? And, above all, why should contemporary authors tell us that the Pictish language was different from the British language and the Gaelic language?

periods. Also, English thralls, in Malcolm's reign, provided a plentiful harvest of that king's reaping.

In face of these facts, it can hardly be contended, as is frequently done, that the population of Scotland is mainly of Gaelic origin; and the corollary of that contention, that the true national language of Scotland is Gaelic, can only be maintained by those who have imperfectly grasped the significance of the evidence furnished alike by place-names and the correct reading of history. The Gael and their language are only one set of factors, among many, in the heterogeneity of the Scottish people.

It is impossible to estimate with any degree of exactitude, the relative preponderance of the different proto-historic and historic elements in the population of Scotland at the present day. The evidence that I have adduced would appear to suggest that the most important element, numerically, is Cymric: it is found in every part of the country; and its distribution proves the substantial correctness of the Welsh traditions which affirm that the Cymri were at one time in possession of the whole island of Britain. I have shown that they were also in possession of Ireland until the arrival of the Teutons in that island. Contrary to the segregating policy in England of the Anglo-Saxon invaders (who were colonists, accompanied by their wives), the Teutonic settlers in Ireland and Scotland coalesced with their Cymric predecessors, marrying their women and adopting their customs and, in varying degrees, their language. The fusion between these peoples was not necessarily of uniform completeness. The earlier Teutonic (Scandinavian) settlers in Scotland were adventurers who, as we have seen from the evidence supplied by tradition, were unaccompanied by wives, and had to find them in Ireland. In this instance, the amalgam of races would be more or less complete; and in course of time, there would be nothing to

distinguish one race from the other except physical differences; and even these would gradually disappear.[2]

Segregation would naturally have the result of perpetuating physical differences, and thus discriminating the races, even if their language and customs were exactly the same. As an example of this, I may cite an instance well within my personal knowledge. The people at the Butt of Lewis—living in a parish which takes its Norse name of Ness from the Butt—are in no way distinguishable physically from the inhabitants of Scandinavia. Yet their language is Gaelic, and their customs are what is loosely called "Celtic." The explanation is that these people are descended from the Scandinavian colonists of Lewis, and their segregated position, geographically, has resulted in a breed of men and women whose physical characteristics are the same as those of their ancestors ten centuries ago. In an adjoining parish of the same island, a striking contrast is shown by an appreciable proportion of the inhabitants being short, dark, and rather broadheaded, instead of being tall, fair, and long-headed, like the men of Ness.[3]

The amalgamation of the different peoples into a nationality, the units of which ultimately called themselves by the common name of "Scots," was necessarily a gradual process. The nation was not built up in a day; nor did it come into existence without a persistent struggle for hegemony. We find in the earliest records, the Picts and the Scots preying upon the Britons; later, we find the Scots and the Britons ranged against the Picts and Angles; then

[2] But the Frisians, or Old Saxons, who arrived in Scotland during the historic period, probably effected their settlements much in the same way as the Anglo-Saxons in England; their social contact with the Celtic inhabitants cannot have been close.

[3] Dr. Beddoe noticed the same fact about the Ness men after a visit to Lewis (*The Races of Britain*, p. 240). Beddoe points out (p. 243) that from Nairn to the Forth, two elements in the population are conspicuously strong—the Teutonic, and another vaguely described as "Pictish."

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throne of the Ard-King from Nectan, and for thirty years (731-761), reigned as undisputed monarch of the Pictish nation. An act of "profanation" by the Dalriadic Scots, who dragged his son from a sanctuary in Tory Island, gave him a pretext, or a cause, for "smiting" Dalriada; and he smote her mercilessly. He captured her capital, Dunadd (in the Moss of Crinan), burnt a fort called Creic, and chained the two sons of Sealbach, the head of the Cinel (tribe) Loarn. Whether he annexed Dalriada to the Pictish kingdom, and whether it remained an appanage of the latter for a century, as Skene believes,[5] are questions of much obscurity. The Chronicles are not in agreement with the Albanic Duan and with other lists of kings, and the inferences to be drawn from later events are liable to mistake. But it is not improbable that the loss of Dalriada in the west[6] may have coincided with the consolidation of Scottish power in the east, where a foothold may have been gained which facilitated the acquisition of the Pictish throne by the rival dynasty in the ninth century. Oengus, the masterful King of the Picts, died in 761, and a few years later (767), we find Aed Finn, a Scottish King, invading Fortrenn, a fact complementary to the statement in the Annals of Ulster that the kingdom of Oengus had "waned" before his death.

There is justification, therefore, for assuming that a rapid decline in Pictish power followed the death of the

townland, is called *treen*. The Manx "treens" were strips of land nearly always divided by natural bounds (see Moore's *History of the Isle of Man*). If *treen* is the true suffix of Fortrenn, the prefix may be the familiar *For*, pasture.

Fortrenn is thus one of those names for which there is a choice of plausible derivations.

[5] *Celtic Scotland*, i., pp. 292-3.

[6] The Kingdom of Dalriada cannot have passed permanently from the Scots, for Kenneth MacAlpin was King of Dalriada for two years before he succeeded to the Pictish throne.

"sanguinary tyrant," and that the Scots were not slow in availing themselves of the opportunity to shift the balance in their favour. Probably they had the Church at their backs; and ecclesiastical support was at that time an engine of formidable driving power. The Scottish Church had its own quarrel with the Picts, for King Nectan (Bede's Naitan, to whom the Abbot Ceolfrid of Jarrow addressed a lengthy disquisition on Easter and the tonsure) had driven (in 717) the Columban monks from his dominions, on their refusal to accept the new views of this Romanised zealot.[7] After the expulsion of these monks from Pictland, we find the *Keledei*, popularly named Culdees, coming into prominence for the first time. They were originally a community of anchorites; and it would appear from the history of St. Serf, or Servanus, that they were associated primarily with the province of Fife, where their residence is perpetuated by the place-name Dysart (desert). In course of time, the simplicity of their lives gave way under the deadening influence of increasing power and wealth. Kings were their liberal patrons (notably Shakespeare's MacBeth); they waxed fat; they abandoned their self-imposed hardships as hermits; and latterly, we find them comfortably installed as secular canons. Their appearance in the east of Scotland coincided with that of the secular clergy; and both were brought under the canonical rule.[8] Gradually, the honourable name *Keledei*, now wholly inapplicable, sank into deserved oblivion.

If we assume that the *Keledei* and the secular clergy in Fife used their influence on behalf of the Scottish kingdom which seems to have been established there, it can be readily

[7] The monastic church in Iona conformed to the Roman usages about this time (716-718) after a spirited resistance to the change.

[8] *Celtic Scotland*, ii., p. 277. Skene equates the name *Keledei* with *Deicolæ*, or God-worshippers, but his arguments are not altogether convincing. I suggest that Serf (St. Servanus) may be an equation of the Irish *gilla*, of which the earliest form was probably *chele* (Scots "chiel").

understood that in these allies, the Scots possessed an asset of considerable potential value, in their later relations with the Picts. And the decay of the once powerful Pictish monarchy, coinciding as it did with the growing strength of the rival dynasty, was forcibly accelerated by the arrival of a new foe, the piratical and merciless Danes.

Historical manuscripts are silent about any Scandinavian invasion of these islands prior to the end of the eighth century. It has been assumed, therefore, far too hastily, that there were no Scandinavian incursions, much less settlements, in Britain or Ireland before that time. The evidence of place-names alone disposes of that assumption; and if Gaelic tradition counts for anything at all, its numerous allusions to the Lochlans (who were demonstrably Scandinavians) supplement the etymological proofs, which are additionally reinforced by the statements in the Welsh Triads.[9]

If, indeed, no tangible evidence either way of these earlier visits of the Scandinavians existed, they would still be inferentially probable. In the time of Tacitus, the Suiones or Swedes had the most effective navy in all Germany. Is it likely that this navy, manned as it was by the best sailors probably in Europe, never ventured to the British Isles, as early as the Saxons and the Franks, who appeared on the coast of Gaul in the third century, and visited Britain before the end of the fourth?

In the Irish Annals, the Northmen receive a variety of names. They are called Lochlans, Gentiles (heathen), and foreigners. The Lochlans are sometimes distinguished from the Danes, and the name would therefore appear to have

[9] The Triads embodied in the *Ancient Laws of Cambria* (p. 376) state that the first of the three invading tribes in Britain were the Scandinavians. The Triads go on to say that the Cambrians drove the Scandinavians over the sea to Germany. The second invasion was that of the Scots from Ireland, and the third that of the Cæsarians (Romans). Elsewhere (p. 377) it is stated that the three "treacherous" invasions were those of the Red Irishmen, the Scandinavians, and the Saxons.

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Fingaill), it would be reasonable to suppose that the place-name Fingall, near Dublin, was the source of this name as applied to a people. "Fingall" is found as a place-name in Yorkshire as early as 788, a Synod having been held there in that year;[13] and *gal* appears as a suffix in ancient place-names in Wales.[14] It cannot be supposed that the difference between the two peoples rested upon an ethnological basis. The Danes may have been, as some writers suppose, a more heterogeneous race than the Swedes and Norwegians, and it is possible that their fairness may have been modified by a dark strain. But that this difference (assuming its existence) would originate the name under discussion, is in the highest degree improbable.

Light is thrown upon the difficulty by a tale in the *Red Book of Hergest*.[15] A troop of Norwegians is represented as being "of brilliant white," and a troop of Danes, "whereof each man wore garments of jet black," completes the picture. Also, the banners of the Norwegians were "pure white," and those of the Danes "jet black." This tale, which belongs to the Arthurian cycle, and is believed to contain reminiscences of a reconstruction in pre-Norman times, clearly shows that in the earliest Welsh folklore, the Norwegians and the Danes were differentiated by the colour of their apparel and banners. It may be reasonably inferred that the Irish Annalists similarly discriminated between them, thus explaining their frequent allusions to the "white foreigners" and the "black foreigners." An ancient Irish poet[16] alludes to the "Danes of the black ships," which seems

[13] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

[14] From Cym. *gâl*, a plain. We may contrast Fingall (Fairfield) with Donegal (Brownfield), where the prefix is probably from Cym. *Dwn*, dusky, or dun. At any rate, the "strangers' fort" will hardly do as an etymology for Donegal.

[15] "The Dream of Rhonabwy" (in the *Mabinogion*).

[16] Beg Mac De, quoted by Todd in his *Wars of the Gael.*

to add force to the suggestion that the Danes affected a dark colour as a distinguishing mark from the Norwegians. And Saxo Grammaticus writes about "black men," who, as the context shows, must have been Scandinavian rovers.[17]

The Fingalls may have been settled in Ireland for an indefinite period, before they were disturbed by the Dugalls in the middle of the ninth century; and their manners had possibly been softened by contact with the gentler Irish, as well as by the change from continual sea-roving to occasional cattle-rearing. The Dugalls attacked them with peculiar ferocity, regarding them perhaps as renegades, or desiring to oust them from their possessions. The battles fought between them were stiff contests, in the principal of which, victory rested with the Dugalls. The Danish eagles fixed their sharp talons in the unhappy Irish nation, and did not relax their hold for centuries. The battle fought on the plain of Clontarf on Good Friday in 1014, did not free the Irish from Scandinavian oppression. And even at Clontarf they were divided, for Irishmen fought on both sides; and a divided nation they continued to be, right through the ages.

Soon after the Dugalls first appear in history, we find records of another combination called the *Gall*-G*aidel*, a compound name signifying a blend of Scandinavians and Gael. The fragments of Irish Annals already quoted tell us who these Gall-Gaidel were. The Gaelic portion of the combination "were a people who had renounced their baptism, and they were usually called Northmen, for they had the customs of the Northmen and had been fostered by them, and though the original Northmen were bad to the churches, they were by far worse, in whatever part of Erin they used to be."[18]

[17] Elton, pp. 275-6.

[18] *Fragments*, p. 139. On page 129, the writer says that the Gael were *Scoti* and foster children to the Northmen, "and at one time they used to be called Northmen."

The Gall-Gaidel had no special connexion with Galloway[19] until centuries after the combination was formed, when (1199) a Lord of Galloway, Rolant Mac Uchtraigh, is styled their king. The country of their inception must have been Ireland, but they are subsequently associated in a special way with the Western Isles of Scotland. The Gaelic sections are called *Vikingr Skotar* by the Sagas. The association of these apostate Gael with the heathen Scandinavians is a fact of some significance. What was the common bond between them? Was it merely a lust for plunder, or does it suggest the recognition of a common origin, and consequently the existence of a racial affinity? It is noteworthy that the Annalist discriminates between these renegade Scots and the *Erinach* or Irishmen.[20]

The dreaded Danes played an important part in the final downfall of the Pictish monarchy. In 839, the "Gentiles" (heathen) dealt Fortrenn a crushing blow—"Eoganan, son of Angus, and almost countless others were slain," says the Annalist—from which the Pictish nation possibly never recovered.[21] Kenneth MacAlpin seems to have seized the opportunity to turn his arms against them, and a few years later, achieved the object of his desire. The statement in the Chronicle of Huntingdon, that "Kenneth encountered the Picts seven times in one day, and having destroyed many, confirmed the kingdom to himself" need not, however, be taken too literally.

The facts of the "Scottish Conquest" are obscure, but its main features emerge from the obscurity with sufficient

[19] The Annals of Ulster show them battling in Munster in 856. Skene's elaborate attempt, in *The Highlanders of Scotland*, to deduce the origin of certain Highland clans from the Gall-Gaidel is futile.

[20] *Fragments*, p. 129.

[21] The Danes continued their depredations after the accession of the Scottish dynasty to the Pictish throne. We find them again in Fortrenn in 866, when they plundered all the Pictish people and "brought away their pledges." For many a day they were the pests of Scotland.

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really no reason why the Picts should not accept Kenneth as their king. His claims were probably sound; and the nation that had accepted the son of an Angle (Talorcan, son of Ainfrait, in 653) as their ruler would not boggle at a Scot of Pictish lineage. There is thus no justification for believing that the Scottish Conquest was of the revolutionary character that it is usually represented to have been; and it is quite certain that the destruction of the entire Pictish nation is a myth. It would be just as truthful to say that the Normans destroyed the entire Anglo-Saxon nation in 1066.

It is a striking fact that there is no allusion by contemporary (or nearly contemporary) writers to these stirring events in Pictavia. A knowledge of them could not well have escaped the cognisance of Asser, or Ethelwerd, or the compilers of the Irish Annals and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Yet, in none of these sources, is to be found even a passing allusion to the supposed extermination of a neighbouring and powerful people. More than that: Kenneth MacAlpin is styled by the Irish Annals *Rex Pictorum*, and Aedh, his son, is described as the son of Cinad,[25] "King of Picts." Flann Mainistrech says of Kenneth that he was the first king "who possessed the Kingdom of Scone of the Gaidhel," showing a recognition of the fact, elsewhere well attested, that Scone was the Pictish capital at the time of the Scottish Conquest. As the greater includes the less, it is obvious that the description of Kenneth as "King of the Picts" implies that the latter were numerically of greater importance than the Scots, who are comprehended in the designation of "Picts." And thus was forged the first link in the chain of national unity.

[25] In the name Cinad, we see the original form of "Kenneth." It is derived from Cym. *Cyniad*, a principal, which is allied to *Cûn*, a leader, and *Cunach*, a noble lineage. The last form resembles the modern Gaelic form of Kenneth, viz., *Coinneach*. The Scottish name MacKenzie and the Irish name MacKenna are softened forms.

Not suddenly but, on the contrary, after the lapse of centuries, did the name "Pict" disappear from history. Ethelwerd mentions the Picts in 939. In the eleventh century, the name appears in the laws attributed to William the Conqueror.[26] In 1122, they are named by Radulf, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to Pope Callixtus.[27] Later allusions to them are made by Richard of Hexham and John of Hexham, both of whom state that they fought at the Battle of the Standard in 1138; [28] while, as we have seen, Reginald of Durham, at the end of the twelfth century, asserts that their language was still alive. Against these statements is that of Henry of Huntingdon (c. 1080 or 1090), who says that "the Picts, however, have entirely disappeared, and their language is extinct."[29] But his authority on Scottish affairs is not equal to that of the Northumbrian monks.

Richard of Hexham tells us that the Picts were commonly called "Galwegians." And that brings us to the Pictish connexion with Galloway. The name "Galloway," in its earlier meaning, comprehended a much larger territory than the later district of that name. Galloway and Lothian between them embraced the whole country south of the Firths, but were separated by the British kingdom of Strathclyde previous to its absorption by Scotland. North of the Firths, Scotia included, besides the territory lying between the Forth and the Spey, the southern part of Argyll, the northern part (extending as far as Sutherland) being a portion of the province of Moray; while Caithness, Sutherland, and the Western Isles from the eighth (or ninth) to the thirteenth century, were in the hands of the Scandinavians. In the reign of David I. (1124-1153), Galloway included Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, and Renfrew, and as late as the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214), the limits of

[26] Innes, p. 101. [27] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[28] Stevenson, p. 10, and pp. 43, 45-46, 50-51. [29] Forester, *B.* i., pp. 8-9.

Scotia were still between the Forth and the Spey, with South Argyll.[30]

The state of semi-independence occupied by the provincial kingdoms is shown by the fact that when Canute invaded Scotland in 1031, three "kings" submitted to him: Malcolm II., King of the Scots, Maelbeth (MacBeth), and Jehmarc. MacBeth must have represented the province of Moray, and Jehmarc may have been the lord of Galloway. The Kings of Scotia were the suzerains of these petty rulers, but their authority must have been of a limited character, for the special laws and privileges enjoyed by Galloway until its incorporation in the Kingdom of Scotland in 1235 show the slenderness of the tie that had hitherto linked the lords of Galloway with their suzerain.[31]

We get a glimpse of the mixed nature of the population of Scotland, in Royal charters to the inhabitants of the diocese of Glasgow who, in the reign of William the Lion, are described as Franks (Norman-French), Angles, Scots, Galwegians, and Welsh, the last-named being the descendants of the Britons of Strathclyde. The welding of these units into the Scottish nation was a task that demanded statesmanship of a high order; and the comparatively slow process by which the kingdom of the Scottish monarchs was consolidated is quite intelligible. The most troublesome of the provinces were Moray and Galloway; for they were the Pictish districts furthest removed from the seat of authority.

The territorial divisions into which Scotland was divided during the twelfth century, were ruled by governors who were called *Mormaers*, a purely Cymric compound word, meaning Great Steward (*Mawr-maer*).[32] The title must

[30] *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 372.

[31] See Robertson's *Index of Missing Charters*, pp. 13 (80) and 33 (26), on the "laws and liberties of the men of Galloway."

[32] *Toisech*, another title concurrent with that of *Mormaer*, is also a Cymric word, being the Gaelic form of *Tywysawg*, a leader or prince. The Mormaers were afterwards represented by the Earls, and the Toisechs by the Thanes. The Scandinavians called the Mormaers by the name of *Jarls*.

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Kentigern addressed the people of Rydderch Hael (who became King of Cumbria[34] in 573) at Hoddam, in Dumfries-shire, he directed his sermon specially against the worship of Odin, in the following words, which Jocelyn attributes to him:—"But Woden, whom they, and especially the Angles, believed to be the chief deity from whom they derived their origin, and to whom the fourth day of the week is dedicated, he asserted with probability to have been a mortal man, King of the Saxons, by faith a pagan, from whom they and many nations have their descent."[35]

The people whom Kentigern addressed were Picts, for he was in "the home of the Picts, which is now called Galwiethia." They were also worshippers of Odin; and they "derived their origin" from Odin. They could not have been Angles; for he discriminates between them and the Angles. They could not have been Celts; for the Celts were not Odin-worshippers;[36] nor could Celts possibly claim descent from Odin. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the Picts whom Kentigern[37] addressed were the Scandinavian subjects of the British King of Cumbria.[38]

[34] In the sixth century, Cumbria extended from Dumbarton to the Derwent in Cumberland. Subsequently, the name Cumbria was confined to the portion south of the Solway, the remaining portion being called Strathclyde.

[35] Jocelyn (Forbes), p. 92.

[36] Skene meets this difficulty (which strikes at the very roots of his theories about the Picts) in an ingenuous manner. He suggests (*Celtic Scotland*, ii., p. 191) that the "Celts" whom Kentigern addressed had become infected with paganism by their neighbours, the Angles! But even if that were the fact, how could a Celtic people claim descent from Odin?

The Picts attacked by Halfdene (modern name, Haldane) the Dane, in 875, must have been Galwegians.

[37] The name Kentigern means "chief lord" (Cym. *Cyn*, chief, and *teyrn*, literally a sovereign). "Mungo" is a pet name (Cym. *Mwyn*, gentle, and *cu*, beloved).

[38] The name *Gal-walenses*, sometimes applied to the Galwegians, seems to suggest a mixed people of *Galls* (Scandinavians) and *Walenses* (Welsh).

Bede mentions, in his *Life of St. Cuthbert*, "the Picts who are called

It has been frequently asserted that Gaelic was spoken in Galloway as late as the sixteenth century; and the authority of George Buchanan is cited for the statement. What Buchanan actually said was, that "a great part of this country (Galloway) still uses its ancient language." Seeing that Galloway of the sixteenth century was of old included in Cumbria, the "ancient language" to which Buchanan alludes, may have been Cymric. It has also been asserted, that when the Highland Host were quartered upon the people of Ayrshire in 1678, the natives were able to converse with the Highlanders in their own (Gaelic) language; but there is no contemporary writer that I can trace who makes any statement of the kind.[39] The presence of Gaelic place-names and Gaelic clans in the south-west of Scotland seems to be due to late immigrations from Ireland, long after the settlements of the Scots in Dalriada. The names of the Galloway clans are not those of the Highlanders; or, in instances where they are the same, it is inconceivable that they were offshoots from, say, clans in Badenoch.[40] It cannot well be doubted that there was a

Niduari;" and Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 133) endeavours to prove that by this name must be meant the Picts on the River Nith. But it is by no means clear how the scene of St. Cuthbert's adventure, as described by Bede, could have been on the Nith. Cuthbert travelled from Melrose to the country of the Niduari Picts, where he and his companions had to wait for three days between the highland and the shore waiting for a fair wind. It is impossible to believe that the narrative fits in with the assumption that his journey lay between Melrose and the Nith. It is far more probable that he crossed the Firth of Forth, and that the country of the Niduari Picts lay on the north of the Firth. May it not be that *Niduari* simply means "nether," and that it implies the country of the Lower or Southern, in contra-distinction to that of the Upper or Northern Picts? *Niduari* may be a Latin form of O. Ic. *nedarr*, lower, which perhaps was a colloquialism applied to the Picts south of the Grampians. The analogy between *Niduari* and *Vectuari* and *Cantuari* is plausible, but there the probability of Niduari meaning the Nith people seems to end. "Nether" is frequently used for "lower" by old Scottish writers (*cf.* Barbour's *Bruce*, etc.).

[39] It would be equally bold to assert that at no time was there a Gaelic-speaking people in Ayrshire.

[40] See Lang's *History of Scotland*, vol. i., Appendix C.

silent but steady stream of immigration from Ulster to the opposite coast; and here we have another factor in the mixture of races which cannot be ignored.

The Dalriadic Scots left their mark mainly (and naturally) on the West Highlands. They spread over the Isles and the adjacent mainland, mixing with whatever Pictish and other elements may have preceded them, and subsequently with the Scandinavians who followed them; the combined races forming the restless and turbulent clans of West Highland history. There was probably a clear-cut division of the Scots after the succession of Kenneth MacAlpin, one division comprising the West Highlanders, and the other the subjects of the "Fife sovereignty," to whom would fall the chief spoils of Kenneth's successes.. At an assembly of the Scots held at Forteviot, Kenneth's brother and successor, Donald, agreed with the *Goedeli* (Gael) for the adoption of the ancient laws and statutes of Aed Finn, framed in the eighth century.[41] This implies, apparently, that some of his Scottish subjects were not Dalriads; for these statutes were already recognised by the Dalriads, and had been the law of Dalriada for a century.

There is thus some ground for the suggestion that there was a cleavage between the Dalriadic Scots in the west and the Scottish tribes in the east; and beyond doubt, the cleft was subsequently widened by the introduction of feudalism under the Scoto-Saxon Kings of Scotland, who succeeded the MacAlpin dynasty. If this cleavage first showed itself during the sway of that dynasty, it explains circumstances that are otherwise obscure. Friction could hardly be avoided between the tribes who received lands in the fertile plains of the east and the centre, and those that had to be content with the barren hills of the west. A feeling of antagonism, due to a sense of unfair treatment, would be aroused in the west against the Scottish Crown. That

[41] Innes, Appendix iii.

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himself a native of Caithness, in a letter to Henry VIII., describes the Highland chiefs as the "Yrische lords of Scotland commonly callit the Reddshanckes, and by historiographouris Pictis." Elder's knowledge of racial facts was no better than that of many more enlightened students in later years, but his statement suggests that the chiefs may have believed that they had inherited rights from the Picts which the Scottish Crown had ignored.[45] His designation of the chiefs as "Irish" lords is a curious contradiction of their alleged Pictish descent, if Scottish Picts are meant; but it shows that by this time, not only were the Gael of Scotland and their language called "Irish" by the Lowlanders (which was the fact), but also by natives of the north. The Scots people in the sixteenth century were the Lowlanders; and the Scots language was "quaint Inglis." As a distinction, the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders and their language were called "Irish," in recognition of the origin of both.

For, long before the sixteenth century, the Scots of the eastern and central districts had been absorbed by the more numerous Pictish people, whose language they had gradually adopted while shedding their own Gaelic speech. They remained, however, the dominant caste, and were thus able to perpetuate and impose upon their Pictish neighbours their distinctive name of "Scots," which gradually displaced the name of "Picts," though both peoples were called by the latter name for an undefined period after the accession of Kenneth MacAlpin.[46]

[45] It is by no means improbable that some of the chiefs may have been descended from Irish Picts. There was, of course, a distinctively Scandinavian leaven in some West Highland families, but it was introduced in post-Pictish times.

[46] If we are to accept as literally accurate the accounts of the Battle of the Standard given by Richard of Hexham, there was little to choose, in point of ferocity, between the Picts, the Scots, and the Angles in the Scottish army. The Scots, particularly, are accused by Henry of

The name of the Picts disappeared; but the people themselves remained. And their descendants are to be found at the present day in greatest number in the eastern counties, where the inhabitants are sharply divided in dialect and customs from the descendants of the Angles in the Lothians; and more strongly contrasted with both, are the Gael of the north and the west. The difference is not one of language alone, but of temperament as well. Partly due to environment, it derives much of its vitality from racial traits of character, the existence of which it would require some hardihood to deny. The temperamental gulf which divides the inhabitants of north-east Ulster from those of south-west Cork, is no wider than that which separates the people of Sutherland from those of Selkirk. One may go further, and assert that there are strongly marked distinctions even between dwellers in the same county. A native of Easter Ross is different in temperament from a native of Wester Ross; and between Inverness on the east and Glenelg on the west, there is a border line whence racial traits diverge. The further east one goes, the more does the Pictish blend betray its presence; the further west one goes, the more do characteristics appear which, for convenience, may be described as "Celtic."

But the process of assimilation, greatly accelerated by the dissolution of the clan system, and particularly by

Huntingdon of atrocities of a kind to which recent wars have accustomed us. The curious statement is made by John of Hexham that, after the battle, the King of Scotland took hostages from the Scots and Picts to stand by him in every conflict and danger; and it is added that he fined them in a large sum of money. In the burgh seal of Stirling—a town with a Cymric name—the words *Bruti Scoti* (Scots brutes!) are applied in 1296 to dwellers benorth the Forth. The Stirling burghers were probably of Anglic descent, if Beddoe's surmise (*Races of Britain*, pp. 243-4) is correct, that the Angles of Lothian pushed *en masse* in the direction of Stirling to the ford of the Forth and the Campsie Fells. This is one more illustration of the racial admixture that had to be unified, and the racial animosities that had to be allayed, in the work of consolidation.

the steady development of educational machinery throughout the country, has blunted the edge of racialism since the eighteenth century, and has removed one by one the barriers that formerly divided the north from the south, the east from the west. Temperamental distinctions remain, and will continue to remain, to lend variety to the component parts of the nation, and prevent (not unfortunately) the attainment of an ideal of dull uniformity. A blend of temperaments is a good thing for a nation, if they are not conflicting but complementary. It has been shown that the welding together of the diverse racial units, from Shetland to the Tweed, into the Scottish nation, was a long and arduous task. It could only have been accomplished by the hand of Time; and in the development of a national ideal, the realisation of a community of interests, the hand of Time continues to work beneficently by moulding the different elements into a state of more complete unification.

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